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## THE RISE OF THE BRAZILIAN ARISTOCRACY

On February 15, 1823, only five months after Dão Pedro had proclaimed the independence of Brazil from Portugal, George Canning, in an official dispatch, offered to recognize the new government if the young emperor would abolish the slave trade immediately and unconditionally.<sup>1</sup> In view of the peculiarly close relations which had existed between England and Portugal for centuries, recognition by Great Britain would mean instant success for the Brazilian revolution;<sup>2</sup> yet Dão Pedro was unable to pay the price demanded by Canning, since, as José Bonifacio regretfully reported to the Brazilian chargé,<sup>3</sup> any measure which precipitously abolished the slave traffic would endanger the very existence of the government itself. The interests engaged in the trade, powerful as they were, might possibly be faced successfully; but there was no hope of a victorious conflict with the owners of the great plantations. The government did not share the opinion held by the agricultural people of Brazil, Bonifacio continued, but that class was the powerful element of the coun-

<sup>1</sup> Great Britain, Public Record Office, F. O. 63/257, Canning to Chamberlain, No. 5, Secret.

<sup>2</sup> The offer was repeated at least five times (Brazil, *Arquivo Diplomático da Independência*, Rio de Janeiro, 1922, I., Caldeira Brant Pontes to José Bonifacio, November 16, 17, and 20, 1822; May 6 and 10, 1823).

<sup>3</sup> Great Britain, Public Record Office, F. O. 63/259, Chamberlain to Canning, No. 55, Secret. April 26, 1823. The *chargé* was reporting a conversation with Bonifacio in which the latter gave him the decision made at a cabinet meeting attended by Pedro himself.

try and, enticing as the bait was,<sup>4</sup> Dão Pedro could not purchase independence at the price demanded by England.<sup>5</sup>

The landed gentry, who were able to limit the action of the emperor so effectively, formed a distinct social and political element which identified itself with Brazil in preference to Portugal. Colonial-born, and bred in a society that looked back on achievements in which the mother country had little or no share, this class during the three centuries preceding independence had originated a native aristocracy antagonistic to the element which was Portuguese by origin or tradition. In the creation and development of this aristocracy certain factors had operated which were common to all sections of the colony while others were peculiar to certain geographical divisions; yet both the general and the sectional factors had served to foster hatred between the two classes of colonials.<sup>6</sup> The antagonism which divided the revolutionist forces under Dão Pedro into constitutionalist and absolutist originated in this traditional cleavage between the native Brazilian aristocracy and the element in the colony which was Portuguese by birth or tradition. The constitutionalist, or patriot, was the inheritor of the traditions of the Brazilian aristocrat, whereas the absolutist was the descendant of the Portuguese group. The rise of this native aristocracy, therefore, was a decisive factor in the Brazilian struggle for independence.

The cleavage between the *masombo*<sup>7</sup> and the Portuguese

<sup>4</sup> Dão Pedro was obliged to follow the longer path of protracted negotiations at London and Lisbon and to await the result of the interplay of European politics before England finally forced Portugal to recognize the independence of Brazil by the treaty of August 29, 1825.

<sup>5</sup> His offer to abolish the trade gradually within eight years was rejected by Canning (Great Britain, Public Record Office, F. O. 63/259, Chamberlain to Canning, No. 20 and April 2, Secret).

<sup>6</sup> In 1800 Brazil was marked by distinct geographical divisions, each region enthusiastic over its own section and hating the Portuguese. These sections, the result of three centuries of colonial development, are described in detail in J. Capistrano de Abreu, *Capítulos de História Colonial, 1500-1800* (Rio de Janeiro, 1928), pp. 270-302.

<sup>7</sup> The Portuguese born in Brazil was called *masombo*; the inhabitant of the colony born in the mother country was called Portuguese.



began early in colonial days with the caste distinction which existed between the noble and the peon of the first conquests. Later this class distinction was modified to include among the native aristocracy the descendants of the ignoble followers of the conquerors, of early settlers regardless of social position of such ancestors, and of the *masombo* who had attained to some colonial governmental position and had perpetuated in his family the right to hold office.<sup>8</sup> The last of these stipulations furnished a door by which later immigrants could enter the Brazilian aristocratic class.

Except for the public functionaries, nearly all of whom were sent from Portugal, the emigrant to Brazil before 1700 was a stable colonist. After the disillusion of the first decades and before the gold and diamond rush of the eighteenth century, the Portuguese who emigrated to Brazil were inspired not by hopes of plunder but by the desire to acquire better living conditions in the virgin colony and to establish stable fortunes. Consequently, the Portuguese who settled in the colony during this period abandoned to a certain extent their rights in Portugal, identified themselves with Brazil, and strove to climb to the social status of the native nobility.<sup>9</sup> The first great emigration, which occurred after 1580 when the subjection of Portugal by Philip II. caused Portuguese families of the best type to flock to the colony, brought so many free settlers to the country that from a total population of 57,000 in 1584<sup>10</sup> the colony grew to 150,000, perhaps

<sup>8</sup> Rocha Pombo, *Historia do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, n. d.), III, 741, note 1; Pereira da Silva, *Historia da Fundação do Imperio Brasileiro* (Rio de Janeiro, 1864), I, 209-210.

<sup>9</sup> M. Bomfim, *O Brasil na America. Caracterização da Formação Brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro, 1929), pp. 77-79. Bomfim asserts that these colonists were not degraded or criminals as is commonly believed. The largest group of colonists ever brought over was by Thomé de Souza who had forty degraded out of one thousand colonists. A criminal might be a rebel against the tyranny of home government. Pereira da Silva makes the same assertion (*op. cit.*, I, 184-190). Rocha Pombo declares that after 1549 the colony attracted free immigrants, not criminals or degraded (*op. cit.*, III, 290, 331).

<sup>10</sup> This population was distributed into the following classes: 25,000 whites, 18,500 tame Indians, and 14,500 African slaves. The number of uncivilized In-

even to 200,000 in 1640.<sup>11</sup> The colonists who dominated after 1600 were of a type that was capable of creating wealth, of taking possession of the land, and of defending the colony without the assistance of the mother country.<sup>12</sup> Thus by the beginning of the seventeenth century there had been created a distinct and powerful group in the colony which identified itself with Brazil in preference to Portugal.<sup>13</sup>

The economic foundation of the colony, during this formative period and prior to the discovery of gold and diamonds, was land. In the north, principally in Bahia and Pernambuco, sugar was the staple; tobacco and cotton were also grown from Espirito Santo northward; cereals and fruits were the source of wealth in Rio de Janeiro and São Vicente, although sugar was grown along the coast in Rio; and cattle furnished the means of existence in the extreme south, in São Paulo, in Espirito Santo, and in the back-country of Bahia, Pernambuco, and Parahyba.<sup>14</sup> Deprived of any dream of fortune from gold, silver, or precious stones, the colonists fell back on agriculture, ranching, and fishing;

dians is not given (Rocha Pombo, *op. cit.*, III. 743, note 2). The figures are those computed by Barão do Rio Branco from *Informações e Fragmentos* of Anchieta.

<sup>11</sup> Rocha Pombo, *op. cit.*, III. 754.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, III. 760-761.

<sup>13</sup> Solidanio Leite Filho in his book *Os Judeos no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1923) maintains that very early in colonial times Jews found asylum in Brazil. By the end of the sixteenth century they were so numerous in Bahia that they had a synagogue. During the Dutch domination in the north the Jews flourished, five thousand Jews living in Pernambuco alone just prior to the Brazilian reconquest. Their hold on the sugar industry was so strong that the inquisition was unable to continue the persecutions begun in the early eighteenth century. It was largely due to the influence which they exerted through their interest in the sugar *engenhos* that the inquisition was never established in Brazil. The monograph is suggestive but inadequate.

<sup>14</sup> Rocha Pombo, *op. cit.*, III. 757. During the century preceding the discovery of the mines, cotton was an important agricultural staple in Pernambuco and São Paulo. It could be raised in the interior (sugar was confined to the coast) and it was an article suitable for the small farmer who lacked the capital, slaves, and the mechanical equipment necessary for the sugar plantations (Rocha Pombo, *op. cit.*, V. 530 ff. See also Pedro Taques, "Nobiliarchia Paulistana", in *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, XXXII. pt. 1, *passim*).



the possession of land thus became the paramount desire of the Brazilian.

The colonist secured possession of a plot of land by obtaining grants by *sesmaria*.<sup>15</sup> During the régime of the *capitanias* the lord proprietor (*donatario*) was empowered to divide at will all lands of his *senhoria* among applicants, irrespective of the social status of the person applying, provided only he were a Christian.<sup>16</sup> At first the captain-mór as well as the captain could grant such petitions in the name of the *donatario*, but later the right was restricted exclusively to the governors of the various provinces. The lands were granted to the applicant to be owned by him and his heirs in perpetuity, the owner henceforth to pay the tithe of the produce of the soil due the crown.<sup>17</sup> The king retained the right to found villas and cities on land granted if the future should reveal the advisability of such action while wood proper for naval construction was reserved for the crown. The holder of the grant, who received only a provisional title at the beginning, was obligated to cultivate the land granted, to fix roads to ports, quarries, or bridges, and to mark off his land, within three years after receiving his grant. At the end of that period, he obtained a permanent title to his *sesmaria* if he had complied with the conditions specified. After 1695, however, holders of *sesmarias* paid a quitrent (*foro*) pro-

<sup>15</sup> *Sesmarias* were "gifts of land which were, or are, from some *senhoria*" (Freco. Aldolpho Varnhagem, *História Geral do Brasil*, São Paulo, Edição Integral, n. d. I. 137, note 24).

<sup>16</sup> The accompanying explanation of *sesmarias* is taken from the following sources and authorities: *Arquivo do Estado de São Paulo*, *Sesmarias* (São Paulo, 1921), two volumes giving copies of *sesmarias* granted in the São Paulo region, 1602-1728; "Fragmentos d'uma memoria sobre as Sesmarias da Bahia", *Revista do Inst. Hist. e Geog. Bras.*, tomo 3 (1841); Rocha Pombo, *op. cit.*, III. 142-145, note 1, a *verbatim* copy of a condensation of the regulations governing *sesmarias* published in *Annaes da Bibliotheca e Arquivo Publico do Pará*, III. 150 ff.

<sup>17</sup> By the Bull of 1551, the king of Portugal as grand-master of the three orders of Christ, Aviz, and Santiago, obtained spiritual as well as temporal jurisdiction over the colony. Hence the crown claimed the right to collect the tithes; it then paid the clergy their salaries and built the *capellas-móres* of the *matriaes*. See Pereira da Silva, *op. cit.*, I. 156-158.

portionate to the extent of land in their possession—in Rio, from one to two milreis per league and in Pernambuco, six and four milreis according as the *sesmaria* was near to or distant from Recife. It was forbidden to grant *sesmarias* to religious orders or to ecclesiastical personages; but if grants should come into the possession of the church by donation from the original grantee or his descendants, tithes had to be paid by the church to the crown on such property.<sup>18</sup>

*Sesmarias* were granted to the applicant for such services as the conquest of new land, the defense of settlements at the time of Indian raids, aid in expelling French, Dutch, or other foreign intruders, or simply as a reward for developing effectually land already in his possession. New land was granted in many cases in response to the plea of the applicant that his family had grown so large that additional room was necessary. At first little restraint<sup>19</sup> was exercised in conceding grants to whomever should petition and every colonist was richly endowed with land. Many of the small owners were unable to develop their grants as required by the terms of the *sesmaria* and thus lost their permanent title whereas the richer few who were able to acquire slaves enlarged their holdings by increasing the size and number of their *sesmarias*.<sup>20</sup> At the same time, these more powerful

<sup>18</sup> An attempt was made by Lisbon to prohibit the transfer of *sesmarias* to the Church by those who had obtained land from the governor. By a *Carta Regia* of January 24, 1729, certain grants were annulled because they had been transferred to the Church although such land had been granted originally by *sesmaria* with a specific stipulation forbidding such action. See *Arquivo do Estado de São Paulo, Documentos Interessantes para a História e Costumes de São Paulo* (São Paulo, 1895-), XVIII. 267-268. This position was abandoned, however.

<sup>19</sup> A *sesmaria* was granted to one Sebastião de Freitas, January 2, 1604, by virtue of services which were not even specified, rendered during twelve years residence in the colony (*Arquivo de São Paulo, Sesmarias*, I. 5-7).

<sup>20</sup> Rocha Pombo, *op. cit.*, V. 504. By the *Carta Regia* of December 27, 1695, a *sesmaria* was limited to four leagues in length by one in width. All *sesmarias* larger than these specifications already granted but not improved by the owner were annulled. The size was later reduced to three leagues by one. These stipulations were evaded, however, and *sesmarias* of thirty or more leagues existed in great numbers ("Fragmentos . . .", pp. 378, 384). The number of *sesmarias*



*senhores* seized lands of Indians which lay in the district occupied by their grants<sup>21</sup> and by various methods despoiled the smaller farmer of his possessions.

Thus although *sesmarias* were conceded to all who might petition, the land gradually became consolidated in the hands of owners who were able to obtain and develop large tracts. Consequently, there grew up a class of big proprietors, around whom was grouped a large number of descendants who worked for the lord somewhat after the manner of the feudal vassal. The small farmer resisted the encroachments of the large proprietor; but backed by the *camaras* (town councils), the big owners gradually forced the submission of the small, independent agriculturist.<sup>22</sup> Those who were able, remained as renters on the big estates; those who were unable to maintain even the independence of a renter, placed themselves under the protection of the large proprietor, paying him service in return for food, clothing, and shelter. It was in this condition, a condition amounting to peonage, that the great majority of the rural population—*mestiços*, Indians, and Portuguese—of Brazil remained throughout colonial times.<sup>23</sup>

Thus during the seventeenth century there developed in the colony a distinct social class which was dependent on

allowed to one individual was limited only by his ability to improve the grants obtained, or by his good fortune in obtaining favor with the governor or at court.

<sup>21</sup> The *Carta Regia* of January 17, 1691, warned the colonial authorities to watch out for such abuses ("Fragmentos . . .", p. 383).

<sup>22</sup> The small farmer endeavored to resist the large proprietor by building small mills by which he made rum (*aguardente*) and flour. The latter did not pay, and attention was concentrated on rum made from sugar cane. This diverted cane from the *engenhos* of the large proprietor and enabled the small farmer to retain his independence. In 1691, a prohibition was issued forbidding the manufacture of *aguardente*, with the result that the small farmer of the sugar regions was forced to plant grain, which did not pay, or cane, which had to be sent to the mill of the large proprietor as an *engenho* was too expensive a plant for the small proprietor. The struggle between the large proprietor and the small farmer, which extended throughout the colonial period, has some bloody chapters. See Rocha Pombo, *op. cit.*, V. 511-514.

<sup>23</sup> Rocha Pombo, *op. cit.*, V. 515, note 2.

land for its position. The large landowner established his family socially as well as financially while he arrogated to himself absolute power over slaves, dependents, renters, share-croppers, mechanics, overseers, members of his own family, in fact, over all who existed on his possessions. An aristocracy native to the colony resulted.

The basis of class distinction in the north was land adapted to the cultivation of sugar, for the *senhor de engenho* carried in Brazil the distinction which titles granted in Portugal.<sup>24</sup> The sugar plantation, or *engenho*, was virtually a small kingdom ruled over by the *senhor*. Slaves of the hoe and sickle, mulattoes and Negroes assigned to house work or the mill, boatmen, carters, cattlemen, shepherds, fishermen, woodcutters, carpenters, nurses, overseers, the numerous mechanics of the mill, and a priest who served as chaplain of the plantation, all looked to the *senhor* as their master. On the larger plantations there were 150 to 200 slaves in addition to the renters under obligation by contract<sup>25</sup> to send

<sup>24</sup> André João Antonil (João Antonio Andreoni, S. J.), *Cultura e Opulencia do Brasil por suas Drogas e Miñas* (São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, 1923), p. 67. The *Cultura*, written by a Jesuit priest and published, 1711, in Lisbon, was suppressed immediately due to the revelation of the riches of the colony contained in the work. Only half a dozen copies escaped. An extract was published in 1800 by Frei José Mariano da Conceição Velloso in the eleven volume *O Fazendeiro do Brasil* (1789-1806). The entire book was printed, from one of the original half dozen copies, August 1, 1837, by José Sylvestre Rebello and Junius de Villeneuve in Rio. It was not until 1886 that Capistrano de Abreu established the identity of Antônio as Andreoni, rector of a Jesuit school in Bahia. His work is the only known book written during the transition period following 1700. The mines had just been discovered while the sugar industry had not yet declined. The book is rated as one of the most accurate and invaluable sources of information on colonial Brazil. See the bio-bibliographical preface to this edition by E. Tauney. The accompanying description of the sugar industry is taken from this work.

<sup>25</sup> The custom in 1700 was to rent land for nine years under condition that the renter plant a certain quantity of cane each year. Sometimes the contract ran for eighteen years. The renter was obligated also not to cut wood proper for naval construction and not to subrent without the consent of the *senhor*. See Antonil, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-89. Antonil protested against the custom current in his day by which the *senhor* and his wife acted the rôle of lord and lady toward the renter as if they too were their servants.



their cane to the mill of the *senhor* who received half to four-fifths of the sugar so milled. Sometimes the *senhor* sold land outright to small farmers on condition that the cane be sent to the *senhor's* mill while money was often loaned to owners of free farms on condition that the borrower send his cane to the lender's mill with one-half the sugar resulting going to the *senhor*. By 1700 there were, besides those under construction, 146 *engenhos* in Bahia, 246 in Pernambuco, and 136 in Rio de Janeiro.<sup>26</sup>

As early as 1584, more than one hundred colonists in Pernambuco received annual incomes of over five thousand *cruzados* while some gained over ten thousand yearly.<sup>27</sup> A Jesuit *visitador*<sup>28</sup> who traveled from Bahia to São Paulo between 1583 and 1590 discovered riches comparable to those of Lisbon. The college at Bahia had three thousand *cruzados* annual income besides the produce from land in its possession. Sixty persons resided in the college, "enjoying an excellent living" where "there never lacked a cup of wine from Portugal". One *senhor* near Bahia reaped eight thousand *cruzados* profit yearly and possessed a private chapel, exquisite in its marvellous carving, cornices, and ornaments. In Pernambuco the *senhores* assumed the style of a titled count of Portugal with "beds of crimson damask fringed with gold and rich coverlets from India". Some of them were worth forty to eighty thousand *cruzados*; their women and children dressed in velvet, damask, and silk; and each *senhor* owned three or four blooded horses. In Pernambuco,

<sup>26</sup> Antonil, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

<sup>27</sup> Rocha Pombo, *op. cit.*, III. 757, note 1. In 1695 the *cruzado* was valued at 3s, 6d (*New English Dictionary*).

<sup>28</sup> "Narrativo epistolar de uma viagem e missão jesuitica pela Bahia, Ilheos, Porto Seguro, Pernambuco, Espirito Santo, Rio de Janeiro, S. Vicente, etc., desde o anno de 1583 ao de 1590, indo por visitador o P. Christovão de Govêa". The two letters were copied from the manuscript in Evora by F. A. Varnhagem and published in Lisbon in 1847. In 1925, the letters were reprinted in Rio together with two other treatises of the author under the title, Fernão Cardim, *Tratados da Terra e Gente do Brazil*, with introduction by Baptista Caetano, Capistrano de Abreu, and Rodolpho Garcia.

mourned the reverend father, there was "more vanity than in Lisbon".<sup>20</sup>

In the north, therefore, the native aristocracy resulted from the position which wealth, derived from sugar,<sup>20</sup> bestowed on the *senhor de engenho*. In the south, social distinctions originated from other sources,<sup>21</sup> for while the *Bahiano* or *Pernambucano* was resting on his bed of crimson damask fringed with gold under rich coverlets from India, the *Paulista* slept in hammocks, ate with tin spoons on bare planks, and dressed in the simplest of clothes.<sup>22</sup> In contrast to the eight thousand *cruzados* annual income of the *Bahia senhor*, the total value of the possessions of the most pros-

<sup>20</sup> Cardim, *op. cit.*, pp. 290 ff., *passim*.

<sup>21</sup> Pereira da Silva (*op. cit.*, I. 230) estimates that in 1650 Brazil was exporting annually from 130 to 140 millions of pounds of sugar to Portugal. As late as 1760, he believes, Brazil was still the first among all sugar colonies, producing one-third of all the sugar consumed in Europe (*op. cit.*, I. 234). Antonil (*op. cit.*, p. 271) gives the following statistics for the annual exportation from Brazil to Portugal around 1700: sugar, 2,534:142\$000; tobacco, 344:650\$000; gold, 614:400\$000; hides, 201:000\$000; Brazil wood, 48:000\$000 (the value of Brazil wood was that shipped from Pernambuco). A box of 35 *arrobas* of the best grade of sugar (*branco machado*) brought 56\$000 in Bahia, while the same box in Lisbon sold for 84\$560. The expenses of getting the box to Portugal are listed as: freight, 11\$520; convoy charge 140 reis per *arroba*; evaluation and duties of 800 reis and 20 per cent respectively, packing, handling, commissions, etc. (Antonil, *op. cit.*, pp. 172-173). Sugar was shipped in boxes of 30 to 50 *arrobas* each. The *arroba* in 1800 averaged 32 pounds. One milreis (1\$000) equalled two and one-half *cruzados*.

<sup>22</sup> It is generally accepted that sugar was first brought to Brazil and planted in São Vicente whence it spread to the north. Rocha Pombo advances evidence to show that sugar was produced in Pernambuco and exported to Portugal before the cane was taken to São Vicente. By an order, dated 1516, given in the *Livro das Repartições da Casa da Índia*, fol. 25 v., Dão Manoel dispatched an agent to construct a mill in Brazil. That the order was executed is proved by the fact that sugar was sent to Lisbon from Pernambuco and Itamaricá in 1526, six years before the founding of São Vicente (*op. cit.*, III. 28; 28, notes 1 and 2, and 74, note 1).

<sup>23</sup> Arquivo de São Paulo, *Inventarios e Testamentos* (São Paulo, 1920-1921), I. 123 ff. and 186 ff. This set of inventories and wills, twenty-four volumes of papers copied *verbatim* from documents belonging to the first *Cartorio de Orfãos* of the city of São Paulo, furnishes an invaluable source of information for the life of the captaincy of São Vicente between 1578 and 1700.



perous inhabitants of São Vicente between 1578 and 1603 did not pass five hundred *milreis* (1,250 *cruzados*). The total valuations given in the inventories of this period range from one hundred to five hundred *milreis*, the latter seldom being reached. Slaves, cattle, pigs, horses, grain, some few farm implements such as sickles and hoes, town houses and buildings on the farm, household articles of the most meagre kind, and land, form the principal items listed. The inventory of one Matheus de Siqueira of the villa of São Paulo, captaincy of São Vicente,<sup>33</sup> is typical of the more well-to-do *Paulista* of the late seventeenth century.<sup>34</sup> His estate included a town residence and a farm. In town he had: two buildings (posts driven in the ground with tamped mud packed hard for walls, and thatched roofs) valued at 64\$000; a box with lock and key, seven chairs, two cupboards, sword and scabbard, sunhat, one coat, one pair of pants and one suit (all used), and five silver spoons and one silver platter. On the farm he owned three hundred *braços* of land with one league and a half of backwoods (*sertão*), valued at 50\$000; four slaves (80\$000); two copper kettles and one copper utensil (28\$500); three swords (10\$200); 128 *varas* of cotton cloth (10\$240); fifteen hoes, seven sickles, seven mattocks, some tin articles, used carpets, and a few other items; money to the value of 16\$000; and thirty *arrobas* of cotton (9\$000). Sixty-three Indians are listed by name as belonging to the estate with no valuation given.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>33</sup> The captaincies of Santo Amaro and São Vicente maintained a separate existence despite bitter quarrels until 1709 when they were combined as the captaincy of São Paulo (Rocha Pombo, *op. cit.*, V. 135).

<sup>34</sup> The inventory is dated 1680. A Portuguese *braço* was 2.1859 meters and a *vara* 36 inches (*Dicionario Enciclopédico de la Lengua Castellana*, Paris, n. d.).

<sup>35</sup> These Indians were styled "*gente da terra*", or at times "*peças*". Antonio Pedroso de Barros (1652) in his will declared that he did not know how many *peças* he owned, but calculated them at 500 (*Inventarios*, XX. 5). The number of Indians increased throughout the seventeenth century. Slaves are listed separately with valuations. The inventory of Pedro Vaz de Barros in 1697 discloses one of the most prosperous of *Paulistas* before 1700. His town house contained pictures, beds, linen for table and bed, curtains, even napkins. One farm was

The poverty of the São Paulo region was proverbial; even the Jesuits almost despaired of any material prosperity.<sup>36</sup> Fernão Cardim, who was so enthusiastic over the wealth of the north, reported a land healthy in climate but poor and sparsely settled.<sup>37</sup> This condition resulted from the failure to find a profitable agricultural product and from the fact that the mountains rose abruptly from the sea, leaving no rich coastland belt. But this universal poverty became the driving force which initiated one of the greatest movements in Brazilian history and created an aristocracy peculiar to the region of São Paulo. Thrust on over the mountains by the necessity of finding richer land, the colonist of São Vicente discovered the interior plateau which sloped westward toward the Paraná-Paraguay basin. Since no commercial connection<sup>38</sup> with Portugal kept the faces of the colonist turned eastward, the *Paulista* buried himself in the interior, independent of the mother country. Land was obtained easily by *sesmarias*<sup>39</sup> with settlements centered in the eastern side of the plateau near the base of the mountains,<sup>40</sup> but slaves from Africa or the Amazon valley seldom reached a market so far south of the prosperous sugar region. Im-

rich with copper utensils, 82 head of cattle, silver, and gold, 19 slaves, some with children (total value of slaves 1:087\$000), 60 sheep (38\$400), and 48 Indians. Another farm with land, houses, slaves, etc., was valued at 710\$000. The total valuation of the possessions of Antonio Pedroso was 3:319\$985 (8,300 *crusados*). See *Inventarios*, XXIV, 13 ff.

<sup>36</sup> Rocha Pombo, *op. cit.*, III, 597, note 2.

<sup>37</sup> Cardim, *op. cit.*, pp. 358-359.

<sup>38</sup> As late as 1767, after the port of Santos had been opened (1766) to direct trade with Portugal, there was little export from São Paulo owing to the fact that what São Paulo produced was not wanted in Portugal (letter of July, 4, 1767, of the governor, "Correspondencia do Capitão-General Dom Luiz Antonio De Souza Botelho Mourão, 1766-1768", *Doc. Interessantes*, XXIII.).

<sup>39</sup> The accumulation of large tracts of land in the hands of a few occurred in São Paulo as well as in the north. See the letter of December 23, 1766, of the governor, in *Doc. Interessantes*, XXIII.

<sup>40</sup> In 1640, there were eleven villas in the captaincy of São Vicente, on the coast, and along the western slopes of the mountains that run near the coastline in this region (Rocha Pombo, *op. cit.*, V, 134, note, 2). See also *Doc. Interessantes*, XI, xxiv.



pelled, therefore, by the lust for a richer land, by a desire to drive the Spaniard back, and by the necessity of obtaining Indian slaves, the *Paulistas* began the famous expeditions to the interior called *bandeiras*.<sup>41</sup>

The effort of Portugal to penetrate the interior ceased after the opening of the coast from the mouth of the Amazon to Iguapé, south of Santos. Further expansion was due to the initiative of the Brazilians themselves, who explored the region that lay almost exclusively beyond the line of demarcation.<sup>42</sup> Between 1526 and 1700, unsupported, with men and material resources drawn from the sparsely settled, poverty-stricken captaincy of São Vicente, these *Paulistas* expanded to the Andes on the west, to the Plata on the south, and to the Amazon on the north.<sup>43</sup> Since this exploit, which more than tripled the territory of the colony, was exclusively Brazilian, the colonist thereafter cherished a vital tradition in which Portugal had no share. Moreover, in contrast to the northern colonist, no economic tie bound the *Paulista* to the mother country; self-sufficient on his plantation, he asserted his independence of royal authority and exercised an absolute power over the persons on his possession equal to that of the *senhor de engenho*.<sup>44</sup> The rudely dressed *bandeirante*

<sup>41</sup> The most exhaustive study of the *bandeiras* is the five volume work by Alfonso de E. Taunay, *Historia Geral das Bandeiras Paulistas* (São Paulo, 1925-1929).

<sup>42</sup> The line of demarcation set by the treaty of Tordesillas defined the boundary between Spanish and Portuguese conquests in the West. See Clovis Bevilacqua, "As Capitanias Hereditarias perante o Tratado de Tordesillas", in *Revista do Inst. Hist. e Geog. Bras.*, tomo especial, parte II; and E. G. Bourne, "The History and Determination of the Line of Demarcation Established by Pope Alexander VI", in American Historical Association, *Reports*, XXII.

<sup>43</sup> Basilio de Magalhães, "Expansão Geographica do Brasil até fins do seculo XVII," *Revista do Inst. Hist. e Geog. Bras.*, tomo especial, parte II. The article is exceptionally good as Magalhães used original sources in the archives of São Paulo and Rio.

<sup>44</sup> In 1766, the governor of São Paulo complained that he was totally unable to administer justice in the captaincy due to the fact that the colonists lived far "outside the settlements, buried in the jungles (*sertão*), disregarding all else other than their own families" (letter of December 23, 1766, in *Doc. Interessantes*,

and his descendants belonged to a native aristocracy no less than did the silken-clad *senhor* of the north.

The creation of this land aristocracy native to the colony was aided by the rural character of Brazilian colonization. In contrast to the Spanish in South America, the Portuguese settled in the country. That the original Portuguese *conquistadores* of the sixteenth century did not wish to colonize in towns, is evidenced by the fact that they petitioned for *sesmarias* which lay beyond the limits of the villas marked out by the governors despite the fact that it was expressly permitted to secure grants within towns.<sup>45</sup> As late as 1767, Governor Cunha reported to Lisbon that the nobility of the country was scattered throughout the captaincy, living on plantations, remote from town and from each other. Rio did not have a person capable of serving as a member of the town council, he complained, since it was inhabited only by mechanics, fishermen, sailors, mulattoes, blacks, and some few business men.<sup>46</sup> Governor Luiz Antonio de Souza reported that the villa of São Paulo was a desolate place in which to live, since despite all his efforts to entice the plantation owner to occupy his town house, the *Paulista* persisted

XXIII.). Rocha Pombo states that the royal authority extended not more than 160 to 200 leagues from the center of authority whereas the population of Brazil was scattered over the land and not concentrated in the seats of authority (*op. cit.*, II. 601). The independence of the colonial aristocracy was fostered by the neglect of Brazil practised by Lisbon before the discovery of the mines, and by the successful efforts made by the colonists to repulse French, Dutch, and English intruders when Portugal was unable to help the Brazilians. The colonist by learning to depend on himself learned also to be independent. See Bomfim, *op. cit.*, pp. 341-342.

<sup>45</sup> Felizberto Freire, *História da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro* (Rio de Janeiro, 1912), I. 381. In the seventeenth century, after the growth of the sugar industry along the coast of Rio had demonstrated the necessity of storage and dock facilities, the owners of large plantations began to acquire permanent residences in town. The new grants, however, imposed quitrents, which is sufficient evidence that these grants were not made to *conquistadores*, but to applicants who acquired land for reasons other than for services rendered to the colony. See *ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> Freire, *op. cit.*, II. 705-706.



in burying himself in the jungles, coming to town only during certain festive or solemn occasions.<sup>47</sup>

It is evident, therefore, that the economic basis of the colonial aristocracy was land; but the legal basis lay in the right to vote in the elections of the *camaras* of the towns. The colony of course was governed by functionaries who were sent from Portugal,<sup>48</sup> but local administration was left to the colonist, who exercised his right by means of *camaras*. In general there were three members, one judge and two *vereadores*, who appointed the city officials,<sup>49</sup> voted and enforced fiscal measures, imposed taxes, policed the city and settlements, and attended to hygienic conditions, water supply, construction of streets, and such measures of local interest.<sup>50</sup> It was due to the efforts of the *camaras* that the citizens of Maranhão, Bahia, Rio de Janeiro, and São Paulo were granted privileges conceded to the city of Oporto.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Letter of December 23, 1766, in *Doc. Interessantes*, XXIII. Rocha Pombo states that throughout the colony, in the north as well as in Rio and São Paulo, the Portuguese spread out into the land instead of concentrating in towns (*op. cit.*, II, 600).

<sup>48</sup> Freire (*op. cit.*, I, 91-97) gives a detailed description of the number, names, and powers of the royal officials. See also preface by Eduardo Tourinho in *Autos de Correições de Ouvidores do Rio de Janeiro, 1624-1699* (Rio de Janeiro, 1929), published by the *Prefeitura do Distrito Federal* from the archives of the Federal District; and Rocha Pombo, *op. cit.*, III, 308, 329, V, 385-386.

<sup>49</sup> These officials were as follows: the *almoacé*, municipal judge who tried cases arising from decrees issued by the *camara*; the *quadrilheiros*, inferior officers of justice, the civil police of the locality whose duty it was to discover thefts, vagabonds, persons of ill-fame, or foreigners; *alcaldes*, whose task it was to guard the city; the *juiz de ventana* (or *juiz pedaneo*), a species of walking judge who had jurisdiction over cases involving damage among the inhabitants of his small district (his jurisdiction did not extend to real estate or to criminal cases); clerk of the *sesmarias*; registrar of deeds; treasurer of the goods of the deceased or absent; judge and registrar of orphans; and notary public. In addition, the *ouvidor* (royal judge), *provedor* (royal treasury official), and the *almozarife* (customs official) on occasion attended the sessions of the *camaras*. See Freire, *op. cit.*, I, 91-97; Tourinho (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 7, 10, 37, 65; Rocha Pombo, *op. cit.*, V, 386, 395 ff.

<sup>50</sup> Friere, *op. cit.*, I, 97, 305, 315.

<sup>51</sup> Oporto was rated as a city of second rank; only Lisbon and Gôa enjoyed privileges of first rank (Capistrano de Abreu, *op. cit.*, p. 27). The privileges per-

The *camaras* maintained their power during the greater part of the colonial period. With or without royal sanction, the *senado da camara* set the pay of Indians and of free laborers in general and established the price of articles made in the mechanical shops of the colony, of meat, wheat, salt, rum, cotton thread and cloth, medicinal drugs, and even of the manufactures of Portugal. It likewise regulated the value of money; issued provisions for agriculture, navigation, and commerce; imposed and refused tributes; deliberated over *bandeiras*, missions, peace and war with the Indians, and the creation of settlements and frontier posts; imprisoned public functionaries and private individuals; made political alliances with other *camaras*; and called to its presence and nominated or even suspended royal governors and captains. Many of these powers were conferred by law on the governors and captains but the repeated orders from Lisbon to restrict the jurisdiction of the *camaras* purely to local affairs were fruitless except in the capitals where the governors resided. It was only in Bahia, and later in Rio, that the governor or viceroy maintained complete dominance over the town council; elsewhere the *senado* attained political functions so extensive that any action of the governors was impeded or rendered impossible without the consent of that body.<sup>52</sup>

The members of the *camara* were elected from a list of *homens bons*<sup>53</sup> which was revised annually. Only persons of untarnished blood (*pessoas limpas e de geração verdadeira*)

taining to citizens of a city of second rank are given in *Privilegios dos cidadãos da cidade do Porto. Concedidos e confirmados pelos Reys destes Reynos, e agora novamente por el Rey dom Phelippe II, nosso senhor . . .* (Porto, 1611).

<sup>52</sup> Rocha Pombo, *op. cit.*, V. 389, note 1, 390 ff. The name of *senado da camara* was officially recognized by the decree of March 11, 1757, which conceded to the *camara* of Rio de Janeiro that title which custom had sanctioned (*ibid.*, V. 391).

<sup>53</sup> They were sometimes called *gente boa*. These "good men" or "good people" comprised the native nobility. Capistrano de Abreu cites four social classes in Brazil based on civil rights, namely: the royal family; the nobility originating in Portugal (*donatarios*, grand-masters of orders, knights, etc.) who held the monopoly of the government offices; the people, consisting of the *homens bons*, farmers, mechanics, and merchants; and slaves and servants (*op. cit.*, pp. 23-30).



were included in the list; the exercise of any mechanical trade or the selling of merchandise over the counter sufficed to debar a name from the list; Jewish or Negro blood (Indian blood was clean) was considered impure; while laborers, slaves, and the degraded were excluded.<sup>54</sup> The people (by which is meant the *homens bons*) were convoked at the order of the *camara*; these elected the five or six electors who in turn selected the judge and the *vereadores*. The judge and the *vereadores* then appointed the officials who should serve for the next three years, writing a set for each year on separate lists and sealing them in the shape of a sphere (called *pelouro*). At the beginning of the year the *ouvidor* (royal judge in charge of the administration of justice in the captaincy) attended a meeting of the *camara*; the box containing the three lists was opened and the *pelouros* placed in a hat; a boy selected one; and the officials indicated thereon were read out and inducted into office at once. The other lists were replaced, the box locked with three keys, and the same ceremony was repeated the second and third year with a new election thereafter.<sup>55</sup> Both the judges and *vereadores* who composed the *camara* and the officials appointed by them were chosen from the lists of *homens bons*.<sup>56</sup> The presence

<sup>54</sup> The qualifications of the *homens bons* and the method of election to the *camara* are taken from the following sources and authorities: Tourinho (ed.), *op. cit.*, various minutes of the sessions of the *camara* of Rio, pp. 6, 26-27, 77-78, 99, 103, 109; *Doc. Interessantes*, XXIII. 375, note 2; Rocha Pombo, *op. cit.*, II. 518 ff., V. 394 ff.; Pereira da Silva, *op. cit.*, I. 168-184.

<sup>55</sup> This system held good until the end of the seventeenth century. Thereafter, at least in Bahia, the election was carried on as in Portugal: the *camaras* prepared lists which were sent to the supreme court in Lisbon. The court with the royal judge of the district selected men from the list, and the king approved the nominations. See Rocha Pombo, *op. cit.*, V. 393-394, note 3. The description above follows Rocha Pombo (*ibid.*). In 1636, the members of the Rio *camara*, not the city officials, were selected by lot from the three *pelouros* drawn from the hat. The lists had been prepared and placed in the box before the *camara* met. The two judges, three *vereadores*, and a *procurador* designated were inducted into office immediately; the two remaining lists were replaced; and the container locked with three keys. See Tourinho (ed.), *op. cit.*, minute of February 16, 1636.

<sup>56</sup> In the case of the larger towns there were two judges and three or more *vereadores*, a prosecuting attorney, and other officials on the *camara* proper (Rocha

of the name on the list entitled the person named, therefore, to vote, hold office, and take his place among the native nobility.

The power of this Brazilian aristocracy was increased by the system of universal military service employed in the colony. In addition to the regular standing army maintained by Portugal,<sup>57</sup> there were the militia and the *ordenanças*, the commands of which in great part were given to Brazilians.<sup>58</sup> Those of the *homens bons* who were not occupied in municipal offices sought military commands to guarantee their positions.<sup>59</sup>

In opposition to the colonial aristocracy of the land there developed a social group consisting of the new arrivals from Portugal. Concentrating on commerce, a phase of colonial life despised by the Brazilian aristocrat, these newcomers made business their chief concern. As Viceroy Lavradio reported in 1779, the Europeans who came to Brazil were so successful in achieving their purpose that the entire commercial life of the colony was in the hands of the Portuguese element.<sup>60</sup> The majority of this class never lost sight of the idea of returning to the mother country; and many, after

Pombo, *op. cit.*, V. 394-395). There was an attempt in Rio to allow persons not on the list of *homens bons* to be elected as members of the *camara* or as officials of the city (minute of June 15, 1691) but the custom did not continue (minute of March 11, 1699). See Tourinho (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 103, 109. The attempt was caused by the lack of persons qualified to hold office in the city of Rio; the *homens bons* lived on their plantations (minute of April 16, 1624). See *ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>57</sup> Regulars to the number of 26,000 to 28,000, besides the sea forces, were stationed in the colony (Pereira da Silva, *op. cit.*, I. 219 ff.).

<sup>58</sup> All able-bodied men were obliged to serve in the militia unless they joined the paid regulars. In the *ordenanças* were enlisted the physically unfit, dependents, or favorites who escaped the militia by enrolling in this third line of defense. Nobles organized special companies of *ordenanças* of their own. See Pereira da Silva, *op. cit.*, I. 219 ff.

<sup>59</sup> Of the *homens bons* listed in the petition by which the settlement of Campinas, São Vicente, requested elevation to the rank of villa, the great majority boasted military titles (*Docs. Interessantes*, III. 3 ff.).

<sup>60</sup> Letter of 1779, given by Rocha Pombo (*op. cit.*, V. 601, note 1). The viceroy reported also that the Portuguese, reciprocating the exclusion practised by the colonial aristocracy, refused to hire even as a clerk a son of the colony.



acquiring wealth, left the colony.<sup>61</sup> Others, shifting the center of their interests and climbing into the native aristocracy by marriage and the acquisition of land,<sup>62</sup> merged with the Brazilian party. Yet this element in the population of the colony<sup>63</sup> remained socially one step above the lowest class, ranking below the rural proprietors and the *senhores de engenho*.<sup>64</sup> These Portuguese were never admitted as a class into the aristocracy of the colony.

Thus before 1700,<sup>65</sup> certain permanent characteristics of the social life of Brazil were definitely established. By that date there had arisen a distinct and powerful element in the colony which identified itself with Brazil in preference to Portugal. Aided by the rural character of the population and by the system of militia employed in Brazil, this class of colonists had created an aristocracy which was based economically on land and legally on the right to vote in the elections for the *camaras*. Jealous of its position, this colonial aristocracy forced new arrivals into commercial and mechanical pursuits with the result that there developed a Portuguese class which cherished antipathy for the Brazilian aristocrat. It was this traditional antagonism which emerged as a decisive factor in the events which occurred after 1821.

In April of that year, when the fat, irresolute king, at the

<sup>61</sup> Since commerce was almost exclusively by credit or exchange, Portuguese coming over without capital were able to start business and prosper (*Doc. Interessantes*, XIII. 33). They were no more than commission agents, however, who obeyed masters in Portugal or England (Freire, *op. cit.*, II. 726-728).

<sup>62</sup> *Doc. Interessantes*, XXIII. 33, 373-375; Capistrano de Abreu, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-98.

<sup>63</sup> This class was distinct from the functionaries who were sent to the colony under royal appointment.

<sup>64</sup> Capistrano de Abreu (*op. cit.*, pp. 95 ff.) gives the social classification of the colony (irrespective of civil standing) as follows: 1), lowest class, the slaves, Indians, free Negroes, and their descendants; 2), the Portuguese by birth or origin, landless but free, the factors, mechanics, foremen, overseers, or laborers; 3), the rural proprietors, provision farmers and cattle owners; 4), *senhor de engenho*.

<sup>65</sup> The social organization of the colony was definitely fixed prior to the discovery of gold and diamonds, in the opinion of Rocha Pombo (*op. cit.* VI. 14-15).

insistence of the *côrtés*, was forced to return with his court to Lisbon Dão Pedro, eldest son of the king of Portugal, was appointed prince regent of Brazil; yet almost coincident with the departure of Dão João from Rio de Janeiro the *côrtés* began to manifest its purpose of limiting the powers of Dão Pedro and of restricting the liberties of the co-kingdom.<sup>66</sup> In consequence of an order issued in April, which detached all provincial governments from Rio and made them subject directly to Portugal, petty provincial and municipal *juntas* sprang up throughout the colony, each corresponding with Lisbon and refusing to pay revenue to Rio. Thus, though nominally regent of all Brazil, Pedro really became merely governor of Rio and the southern provinces. The bank,<sup>67</sup> looted by the king and despoiled by the directors, failed in July, and the treasury of the prince was empty.<sup>68</sup> In September, the dissolution of the co-kingdom was completed when the *côrtés* by decree (September 29, 1821) abolished the chancery court, the treasury, the *junta* of commerce, and the various tribunals and establishments set up during the residence of Dão João in Rio; at the same time Dão Pedro was peremptorily ordered home. Two days later another decree appointed governors-at-arms for each of the provinces of the colony.<sup>69</sup> It was clear that the *côrtés* intended to reëstablish the colonial status of Brazil which had been abolished when the colony was raised to the rank of co-kingdom in 1815.

The issue divided the inhabitants of Brazil into two camps:

<sup>66</sup> By the decree of December 16, 1815, Dão João raised the colony of Brazil to the status of co-kingdom with Portugal (J. F. Borges de Castro, *Collecção dos Tratados, Contratos e Actos Publicos celebrados entre a Corôa de Portugal e as mais Potencias desde 1640 até ao Presente Lisboa*, 1856-1863, V. 248).

<sup>67</sup> By the decrees of October 8 and 12, 1808, Dão João founded a bank of emission in Rio, the first in Portugal or Brazil (Pereira da Silva, *op. cit.*, II. Appendix, Doc. 4).

<sup>68</sup> Pedro I., *Cartas de Dão Pedro Principe regente do Brasil a Seu Pai D. João VI, rei de Portugal* (São Paulo, 1916), letter of September 21, 1821.

<sup>69</sup> John Armitage, *The History of Brasil* (London, 1836), I. 50-54; Pereira da Silva, *op. cit.*, V. 211-243.



one approving the action of the *côrtes* and favoring the return to the colonial status, the other insisting on the equality of the two kingdoms under one ruler. To the first belonged those Portuguese who had immigrated during the thirteen-year residence of the court at Rio or who still looked to the mother country as the center of their interests although they had resided in Brazil before 1808. These Portuguese constituted that part of the commercial class which hoped to reestablish its ancient privileges and monopolies. Every foreigner was an interloper in their eyes and the treaty of commerce of 1810<sup>70</sup> with England was the special object of their detestation.<sup>71</sup> They formed the element which, with the soldiers and functionaries who looked to Lisbon for their positions, remained loyal and forced a civil war during the struggle for independence.

To the other camp belonged the Brazilian aristocracy and those Portuguese who, by marriage or interest, had become rooted in the colony by social and financial ties and had severed connections with the home land. The Brazilian element of this class found it impossible to relinquish the gains which had been obtained since the *carta regia* of 1808<sup>72</sup> had taken the first step toward releasing the colony from its subjection to the mother country, while the Portuguese element was faced with ruin<sup>73</sup> when the *côrtes* threatened to restore the exclusive, monopolistic system of colonial commerce. Both parties of this camp looked to Dão Pedro to

<sup>70</sup> The commercial treaty with England, signed February 19, 1810, established British preëminence in the economic life of the colony (Great Britain, P. R. O., F. O., Treaties, Protocols, Portugal, 93/37/7).

<sup>71</sup> Armitage, *op. cit.*, I. 41-42.

<sup>72</sup> By the *Carta Regia* of January 28, 1808, Dão João opened the ports of the colony to direct trade between Brazil and all nations friendly to the Portuguese crown. The letter patent is given *verbatim* in Rocha Pombo, *op. cit.*, VII. 137, note 1.

<sup>73</sup> The old system of Portugal as the *entrepôt* for the commerce of the colony was to be reestablished by stringent legislation proposed in the *Côrtes*. See "Parecer da Comissão Especial das Côrtes sobre as Relações Commerciaes entre Portugal e Brazil," found in Pereira da Silva, *op. cit.*, VI. Appendix, Doc. 14).

lead their resistance to the decrees of the *côrtes* and, if necessary, to save them by proclaiming the independence of Brazil from Portugal.<sup>74</sup> Both elements, uniting to bring every influence to bear which might lead the young prince to disobey the orders despatched from Lisbon, coöperated in inducing Dão Pedro to defy the *côrtes* and raise the cry of "Independence or Death".<sup>75</sup>

During the early part of the revolt, the two groups continued to coöperate in supporting Dão Pedro in his struggle against the loyalists and the feeble efforts made by Lisbon to subjugate the colony. Yet as the loyalists were expelled or silenced and the forces of the mother country were driven home or seduced to the revolutionist cause, a distinct cleavage began to appear between the two parties which supported the prince. The element of Portuguese origin favored an absolute monarchy under Dão Pedro, with a government entirely independent of the Lisbon court but with the crowns united under one family. To these absolutists belonged the Portuguese office-holders who had been thrown out in 1821 by the suppression of the Brazilian courts and governmental departments, a large number of the wealthier families, that part of the Portuguese commercial class which was profiting by the direct trade carried on under the open-door régime, and some native Brazilians who, while they admitted the advantages of constitutional government, yet denied the policy of applying it to the ignorant population of the new em-

<sup>74</sup> Manoel de Oliveira Lima, *O Imperio Brasileiro, 1822-1889* (São Paulo, 1927), pp. 41-42; Pereira da Silva, *op. cit.*, V. 215, 232-234, 236-237.

<sup>75</sup> The province of São Paulo was the most active in its influence: it was the first to protest against the decrees of the *Côrtes*; it furnished the principal leaders of the independence movement, such as the Andrade brothers, João Carlos Oyenhausen, José Costa Carvalho, and others; and the cry of independence was raised on the outskirts of the town of São Paulo. With Minas Geraes, this region was the center of the Brazilian party. For the history of the manner in which the two parties influenced Dão Pedro to proclaim independence, see: Pereira da Silva, *op. cit.*, V. 235-277, VI. 3-41, 69-151, 197-233; Rocha Pombo, *op. cit.*, VII. 622-757; *Cartas de Dão Pedro a Seu Pae, 1821-1822*, entire but with special reference to the letters of December 10, 1821, and June 19, 1822.



pire. The Brazilian party, on the other hand, favored a constitutional monarchy totally independent of Lisbon, while a large element in the group leaned toward republican ideas. To the constitutionalists, or patriots, belonged the plantation owners, the descendants of the conquerors and early settlers, and the backcountry dwellers, in short, the native aristocracy springing from the land.<sup>76</sup> The constitutionalist of Dão Pedro's time, therefore, was the inheritor of the traditions of the Brazilian aristocrat, whereas the absolutist was the descendant of the Portuguese element in the colony.

The final success or failure of the struggle for independence in Brazil depended on the support which both the absolutists and the constitutionalists gave Dão Pedro; yet the two elements were too hostile to coöperate except under the threat of immediate failure in their struggle for independence. Consequently, as success became assured, the divergence between the two parties<sup>77</sup> grew so acute that the conflict between constitutionalist and absolutist superseded independence as the paramount political issue in Brazil. The independence of the colony was recognized by Portugal in 1825; but it was not until six years later that the constitutionalists by expelling the absolutist Dão Pedro<sup>78</sup> succeeded in

<sup>76</sup> Armitage, *op. cit.*, I. 198-200; Pereira da Silva, *op. cit.*, I. 209-211.

<sup>77</sup> The antagonism between the two elements of the revolutionist forces was evidenced in emphatic fashion by the dissolution of the constituent assembly. Two "patriot" newspapers, the *Sentinella* and the *Tamoyo*, viciously attacked all Portuguese-born who were in the service of Brazil. Two army officers, born in Portugal, chastised the supposed author and the troops, largely Portuguese by birth, demanded the punishment of the Brazilian-born deputies of the constituent assembly who were responsible for the two newspapers. The assembly took up the matter; Pedro moved the troops to a site near his palace; and ordered the assembly to dissolve. The first experiment in constitutional government failed, due in part to this conflict between the Portuguese and the Brazilian elements in the revolutionist camp. See Brazil, *Annaes do Parlamento Brasileiro, Assembleia Constituyente, 1823* (Rio de Janeiro, 1874), tomo VI. 229-247; O. Lima, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-15.

<sup>78</sup> Between 1821 and 1824 by relying chiefly on the Brazilians, or constitutionalists, for support, Dão Pedro established his authority throughout the empire: yet as 1825 approached, he inclined toward the absolutist party. The liberty of

freeing Brazil from the Portuguese. Thereafter the destiny of the empire lay in the hands of the native aristocracy: Brazil at last was controlled by the Brazilians.

ALAN K. MANCHESTER.

### Duke University.

the press was checked; presidents of provinces exercising arbitrary authority were favored; legislative powers were arrogated by the cabinet; the second constituent assembly was not convened; and the members of the absolutist party were promoted. The constitutionalists became the opposition party. The alienation of the Brazilians was intensified by the terms accepted by Pedro in the Portuguese treaty recognizing the independence of the colony; by the commercial treaty and the convention suppressing the slave trade, negotiated by England; by the fiasco of the emperor's policy in the Banda Oriental; and by the distrust of his intentions in relation to Portugal after the death of Dão João in 1826. On April 13, 1831, when Pedro refused to replace the absolutist members of his cabinet with constitutionalists, the Brazilian party forced his abdication and exiled him from the empire. See Pereira da Silva *op. cit.*, VII. 305-306; Armitage, *op. cit.*, I. 200-204, II. 103-143; Rocha Pombo, *op. cit.*, VII. 254-264; O. Lima, *O Reconhecimento do Imperio* (Rio de Janeiro and Paris, 1902), pp. 255-256; O. Lima, *O Imperio Brasileiro*, pp. 21, 210.

## THE ABOLITION OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE TO BRAZIL

Of all the subjects that fall within the century of United States-Brazilian relations, the African slave trade is the most important. But not only is it the most important; it is also the most intricate in its nature, and therefore the most difficult of accurate characterization. The intricacy results partly from the fact that several nations had a share in it. Since Great Britain played a leading rôle in the abolition of the traffic, an attempt at elucidation requires at least some consideration of British activity.

Although not the first old world power to act, Great Britain responded to the agitation of Clarkson, Sharpe, and Wilberforce, and passed the act of March 25, 1807, which aimed to prevent participation in the trade by British subjects. Seventeen years later this act was followed by another which made the crime piracy.<sup>1</sup> It was soon evident, however, that complete eradication of the evil must depend upon concerted action of all nations rather than upon independent action of a few. Partly because of its prestige and power, Great Britain assumed leadership in the larger movement. The program evolved by that country had two main phases, namely, the negotiation of treaties with both the civilized nations and the African tribes for the suppression of the traffic in slaves and the maintenance of forts upon, and cruisers off, the African coast to enforce these treaties.<sup>2</sup> The first phase of this program was remarkably successful, for by 1842 treaties had been entered into with all the European countries except Belgium, Greece, Hanover, and Oldenburg, with all the American nations except New Granada and Peru, and

<sup>1</sup> *British and Foreign State Papers*, 1815-1816, pp. 195 *et seq.* and p. 292 *et seq.*

<sup>2</sup> *Parliamentary Papers*, Slave Trade, Number 35, 1850, pp. 3-8.



with six of the African chiefs.<sup>3</sup> As might have been expected the second phase of the program was much less successful. It was one task to negotiate; it was quite another to enforce the terms resulting from negotiations.

For our purpose it is sufficient to note the nature of British negotiations with Portugal, the nation out of which Brazil arose. The treaty of friendship and alliance, signed at Rio de Janeiro, February 19, 1810, contained a provision whereby the government of Portugal agreed not to transport negroes from those parts of Africa not belonging to it, though another provision of the same treaty seemed to neutralize the provision.<sup>4</sup> As a consequence, the first agreement was not carried into execution, and several additional treaties soon followed. One of the most important in the last category was the document of July 28, 1817, by whose terms the public vessels of either signatory were given the right to search the suspicious merchantmen of the other operating north of the line, and two mixed commissions—one in Sierra Leone and the other in Brazil—were established for adjudicating all captures. Of almost equal significance was the additional article, signed September 11 of the same year, which guaranteed that the provisions of the July document should remain in effect for fifteen years from the date of the passage of a Portuguese abolition law.<sup>5</sup>

Despite these treaties, the Portuguese trade in Africans failed to show any decline for many years. Indeed, in Portugal's most important colony—Brazil—the number of African importations increased every year during the remainder of the colonial period.<sup>6</sup> Fortunately, only a few years elapsed before the independence of the South-American colony paved

<sup>3</sup> For a list of the treaties and their dates, see *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* (3rd series), LXXX. 482; for the content of the treaties, see G. F. De Martens, *Nouveau Recueil de Traités*.

<sup>4</sup> De Martens, *Nouveau Recueil de Traités*, I. 245.

<sup>5</sup> For the July convention and the additional article, see *ibid.*, IV. 438 and 478; for treaties of January 21 and 22, 1815, consult other volumes of the series.

<sup>6</sup> R. Walsh, *Notices of Brasil in 1828 and 1829*, II. 178.

the way for direct negotiations on the traffic; and the part played by Great Britain in the separation placed that country in an advantageous position for negotiating with the new state. The first article of a convention drawn at Rio de Janeiro on November 23, 1826, and ratified the following March, provided that within three years it should not be

lawful for the subjects of the Emperor of Brazil to be concerned in the carrying on of the African slave trade, under any pretext or in any manner whatever, and the carrying on of such after that period, by any person, subject of His Imperial Majesty, shall [should] be deemed and treated as piracy.

The remaining articles, by renewing verbatim the provisions of the British-Portuguese agreements of 1815 and 1817, granted the signatories the right to visit and search each other's merchant vessels, and established mixed commissions for adjudicating all captures.<sup>7</sup>

The announcement of this treaty caused great excitement in Brazil. Most people believed that if it were carried out a shortage of slave labor would follow immediately. Moreover, cutting off negro importation seemed only a step toward the destruction of the institution of slavery itself, upon which the prosperity of the country was believed to depend. But the evil day might be postponed by taking advantage of the three-year period before prohibition by Brazilian law. Accordingly, many millions of additional capital were invested in the business of importation. Statistics indicate that the redoubled efforts were not in vain. The records for the province of Rio de Janeiro tell the tale; the importation figure of 15,000 for 1820 had doubled by 1827, and trebled by 1829, the year preceding that in which the treaty was to take effect.<sup>8</sup>

The Brazilian law, which was not passed until November

<sup>7</sup> De Martens, *Nouveau Recueil de Traités*, VI. 1087.

<sup>8</sup> Reports of United States ministers to Brazil, May 30, 1829, and January 22, 1835, in Despatches, VI. and X. (All citations to "Despatches" refer to communications of United States ministers to their government, and are to be found in manuscript form in the archives of the department of state, Washington, D. C.)

7, 1831, though the treaty had provided a date not later than March 13 of 1830, declared free all persons illegally imported, imposed heavy penalties on those convicted for importation, and rewarded those who assisted in making captures.<sup>9</sup> Notwithstanding its apparently severe provisions, evidence that the act failed to interfere seriously with the slave trade is both plentiful and convincing. A British consul to Brazil estimated that 40,000 Africans were smuggled into the province of Rio de Janeiro alone in the year 1838, while a member of the mixed commission at the Brazilian capital reported that 64,000 entered the entire country in 1844.<sup>10</sup>

As a result of the vigilance on the part of British agents, the London government was always well informed on events connected with the Brazilian traffic. It was aware that vessels were fitted out in Brazilian ports almost daily for the business of transporting negroes across the Atlantic, and that as frequently Africans were landed in the empire's capital city. The London government did more than assemble information; it formulated plans on the basis of its information. On several occasions during the decade beginning in 1835 it suggested to the Brazilian government effective measures for the suppression of the traffic. Whatever may have been the reasons, the Brazilian government did not act upon the suggestions from London.<sup>11</sup>

The year 1845 witnessed a turning point in Anglo-Brazilian relations on the slave traffic. On March 12 of that year the British representative at Rio was notified of the expiration on the following day of the abolition convention of 1826. But the London government, headed now by Aberdeen, refused to admit that the general provision of the document—that it should be unlawful for the subjects of the emperor to be concerned in carrying on the African trade under any

<sup>9</sup> An English translation of the law is in *House Ex. Doc.* 61, 30 cong., 2 sess. (serial 543), p. 86.

<sup>10</sup> *Parliamentary Papers*, Slave Trade, 1839, class B, p. 123; *House Ex. Doc.* 61, 30 cong., 2 sess. (serial 543), p. 86.

<sup>11</sup> *British and Foreign State Papers*, 1845-1846, p. 666 *et seq.*



pretext or in any manner whatever—had expired, or could expire until its purpose had been achieved. Although the position taken by the Aberdeen government was indefensible, if not absurd, it became the basis of an application to parliament for an effective measure. And parliament acted promptly on the measure introduced; on August 8, 1845, the Aberdeen bill became a law. The act provided for the trial of all cases arising from the alleged violation of the convention of 1826 by British courts of admiralty and vice-admiralty instead of by the mixed commissions sitting at Rio de Janeiro and Sierra Leone, though the decisions of the latter were to be recognized until September 13.<sup>12</sup>

Obviously, the announcement of the Aberdeen Act aroused great indignation in Brazilian circles. While opposition to the measure took many and varied forms, the official protest was summarized in a ten-page document drawn up by the Brazilian foreign minister and presented to the British representative at Rio de Janeiro. This protest stated that the British law, though "passed under the pretext of carrying into effect the dispositions of Art. 1 of the Convention concluded between the Crowns of Brazil and Great Britain, on the 23rd of November, 1826", was not "based either upon the letter or the spirit of the said article". The protest pointed out further that the British measure violated "the most clear and positive principles of the Law of Nations" and constituted an infringement "upon the Sovereign Rights and Independence" of Brazil.<sup>13</sup>

While some Brazilians were engaged in protesting against the aggressive and unjustifiable policy of the London government, other Brazilians were setting at defiance both the Aberdeen law and the law of their own country. If the activities of the first group were unavailing, those of the sec-

<sup>12</sup> *Parliamentary Papers*, Slave Trade, 1845, pp. 1841 *et seq.*, 1846, class B, 280.

<sup>13</sup> A copy of the "protest against an act of the British Parliament" was enclosed in a communication of the Brazilian minister at Washington to Secretary Buchanan, February 2, 1846, in *Communications from Brazilian Agents*, II. (manuscripts of the department of state).

ond were amply rewarded. It is estimated that the importers landed on Brazilian soil from 45,000 to 60,000 negroes during each of the five years following the passage of the Aberdeen Act.<sup>14</sup>

In spite of the vigorous opposition in Brazil to the Aberdeen Act, the British government resolved to attempt an even sterner policy. Thus, on April 22, 1850, it announced that thenceforth British cruisers would enter Brazilian territorial waters and capture any vessels suspected of illegal conduct. The new order carried feeling to a high tension, the reasons for which are not difficult to fathom. It was announced in the face of determined attempts to bring about the repeal of the indefensible measure that brought it into existence; it led to the seizure of innocent vessels engaged in port to port trade—perhaps enabling British bottoms to profit thereby; it resulted in the stationing of guardships, upon which captives were kept, in the harbor of the capital city, before the eyes of all; it precipitated an occasional exchange of shots between the hated British cruisers and the forts along the coast; and in a few instances its enforcement resulted in the loss of the lives of Brazilian subjects. Little wonder that diplomatic relations approached the breaking point!<sup>15</sup>

A break of Anglo-Brazilian relations was averted perhaps by the passage of the Brazilian law of September 4, 1850. This act made the slave trade piracy, required bond of masters and captains trading on the African coast that they would not transport negroes, and rewarded prize crews with the proceeds of captured vessels.<sup>16</sup> As public sentiment was at first not strongly behind the statute, the imperial gov-

<sup>14</sup> David Tod to Secretary Buchanan, October 16, 1847, and January 1, 1850, in Despatches, XVII.

<sup>15</sup> United States Minister Tod to his government, August 1, 1850, in Despatches, XVIII.; *Parliamentary Papers*, Slave Trade, 1850, pp. 349 *et seq.*, 1851, class B, pp. 365 *et seq.*

<sup>16</sup> A copy of the law may be found with the United States minister's dispatch from Rio, September 17, 1850, in Despatches, XVIII.

ernment encountered considerable difficulty with its enforcement. In fact, violations were so flagrant that the order to allow British cruisers to seize suspects in Brazilian waters, which had been suspended for a brief time, was restored early in 1851. But shortly after the middle of the century a change in attitude on the part of Brazilians, noted especially in public officials, made possible effective enforcement. Within a few years the trade ceased. Convinced that there would be no resumption, the British parliament repealed the Aberdeen Act in 1869. Whether the severe program of the British or the gradual strengthening of the central government in Brazil was the major influence responsible for suppression of the evil we need not stop to inquire.<sup>17</sup>

The above summary suggests that numerous obstacles made difficult the task of putting an end to the Brazilian slave trade. To the chief of these obstacles we must now turn our attention. At the base of the problem lay the general fact of the long continuance of the traffic. Following in the footsteps of their fathers, the Brazilians had begun importations from Africa in the sixteenth century and had continued them for almost three centuries. By the end of the colonial period there were some two million negro slaves in Brazil, a number almost as large as the free population.<sup>18</sup> As a consequence of the existence of such large numbers of bondsmen, all the enterprises of the nation had been built completely upon slave labor, so much so at least that the country's future prosperity seemed to depend upon its continuance. Obviously, to break up the trade in negroes was equivalent to drying up the source of labor supply. Moreover, it would lead eventually to the destruction of the institu-

<sup>17</sup> *Parliamentary Papers*, Slave Trade, 1862, class A, p. 48, 1870, class C, p. 4. For the entire subject of the abolition of the Brazilian slave trade, see an article by Jane Elizabeth Adams in the October, 1925, number of *The Journal of Negro History*.

<sup>18</sup> Statistics on the free and slave populations in Brazil may not be highly accurate. See A. Cochin, in Laylor's *Cyclopedia*, p. 723; United States Minister Hunter to his government, January 22, 1835, in *Despatches*, X.



tion of slavery itself, a fact admitted by British statesmen. No group of people has ever consciously placed in jeopardy its economic well-being—particularly at the behest of foreigners—without determined resistance. Brazilian capitalists were to be no exception.

Before continuing with a consideration of the more specific obstacles to the break-up of the trade, it may be well to allude once more to the means employed for the attainment of the desired end. As already noted, the British policy was first to negotiate treaties with the various nations and then to enforce these treaties. In order to make effective the second and more important part of the program, Great Britain stationed cruisers off the coasts of Africa and Brazil for the purpose of searching suspicious merchant vessels. For a time, only the vessels which had slaves aboard were captured and haled before the judicial bodies called mixed commissions; after 1839, however, all ships possessing materials necessary for fitting out temporary slave decks were also taken into custody.<sup>19</sup> Operating usually from the distant Cape Verdes, though sometimes from bases on the dark continent, most of these cruisers patrolled the waters relatively near the West African shore. The British squadron was small at the beginning, that is just after the close of the Napoleonic wars; by 1840, it had increased to fourteen ships.<sup>20</sup> Although various emergencies in widely separated parts of the world occasionally caused removal of some of the cruisers, during the period between 1842 and 1857 an average of nineteen ships, carrying a total of one-hundred and forty guns, saw duty in the African service.<sup>21</sup> And during the same period the British squadron was supplemented at times by small squadrons of the United States and France. Usually consisting of only a few inactive ships, the supple-

<sup>19</sup> A. H. Foote, *Africa and the American Flag*, pp. 214-215.

<sup>20</sup> W. B. Greg, *Past and Present Efforts for the Extinction of the African Slave Trade*, p. 21.

<sup>21</sup> *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates* (3rd series), LXXXII. 154; *Sen. Ex. Doc.* 49, 35 cong., 1 sess. (serial 923), pp. 11-16.

mentary forces were agreed to by these two nations as a lesser evil than that of acquiescing in the British proposal of the mutual right of search on the high seas.<sup>22</sup> To cope with the numerous and varied difficulties which had to be faced these combined naval forces were indeed too weak.

Both the extent and character of the coast lines which had to be guarded presented not the least of the problems for the squadrons. On the west coast of Africa, where most of the negroes were loaded for the Atlantic voyage, some three thousand miles required constant scrutiny. The commanding officer of the American cruiser *Truxton*, writing in March, 1845, gave an accurate picture of the difficulty of capturing a slave trader on this coast when he said

It is extremely difficult to get up these rivers to the places where the slavers lie. The whole coast is intersected by innumerable rivers, with branches pouring into them from every quarter, and communicating with each other by narrow, circuitous and very numerous creeks, bordered on each side with impenetrable thickets of mangroves. In these creeks, almost concealed by the trees, the vessels lie, and often elude the strictest search.<sup>23</sup>

Thus protected by nature, the crews of the trading vessels unloaded their purchasing materials, laid the temporary slave decks, and placed on board their cargoes. After this was accomplished, the loose blockade was run at an opportune moment, and the floating prisons were on their way to Brazil. If detected by cruisers, the fast-sailing vessels were often able to escape without capture.

Conditions on the east coast of Africa and on the coast of Brazil were even more favorable to the illicit trader. Long reefs paralleling many of the thousands of miles of the latter coast afforded sheltered landing places for the unloading vessels, while on both coasts the cruisers to be eluded were fewer than on the Atlantic side of the dark continent.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Foote, *op. cit.*, pp. 215-216, 232, *et seq.*

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 241.

<sup>24</sup> *Parliamentary Papers*, Slave Trade, 1850, class B, p. 28.

The connivance at the trade by both the Portuguese and Brazilian officials vastly complicated the problem of extinction. It was alleged that the only object of the Portuguese colonial governors in living on the unhealthy African coast was that of amassing a fortune from the trade. At any rate the only problem encountered by the slave traders when dealing with these officials was that related to price.<sup>25</sup> In Brazil, likewise, the sympathy of officialdom was usually on the side of the trader. Indeed, the slave vessels were frequently fully equipped with the open and avowed assistance of the public authorities. And in the few instances in which arrests were made with a view to prosecution for violation of Brazilian law it was extremely difficult to secure convictions in the courts. Yea, it was mockery to give to the Brazilian tribunals the power of trial, so great was the prestige and influence of the wealthy dealers over both the public and the judges! The influence which the rich traders had in governmental circles is aptly illustrated in the case of Manoel Pinto da Fonseca, who, though the most notorious slave dealer in all Brazil, went about the capital city in pursuit of his occupation entirely unmolested. Fonseca, in fact, was an intimate friend of senators, deputies, and ministers, and upon numerous occasions attended their *élite* social functions as an honored guest. It was not until about 1850, by which time the authority of the central government had been greatly increased, that matters took a turn for improvement.<sup>26</sup>

As already intimated, one of the greatest obstacles encountered by those who labored for the suppression of the nefarious trade was that of the purse. Although the estimates of immediate profits vary considerably, depending upon a variety of circumstances, there is general agreement that

<sup>25</sup> T. F. Buxton, *The African Slave Trade*, p. 174 *et seq.*

<sup>26</sup> Communications of United States ministers to the Secretary of State, May 25, 1842, February 18, 1845, October 16, 1847, January 8, 1850, in Despatches, XII., XIII., XVII.; *Parliamentary Papers*, Slave Trade, 1848, class B, pp. 155-157.



they were ample. The Englishman Buxton, who was usually very well informed on the subject of the trade, computed the profits to the dealer as ranging from one-hundred to two-hundred per cent in 1840. Considered conservative, this estimate was discouraging to many British officials, some of whom maintained that any illicit practice could not be suppressed by legislature where the profits exceeded thirty per cent.<sup>27</sup> In 1884, Henry A. Wise of Virginia, then United States minister to Brazil, informed his government that no loss was entailed by the owners when two slavers out of five succeeded in landing their cargoes. A little later the same official, figuring from a slightly different basis, estimated the profits of a trader at from six-hundred to twelve-hundred per cent.<sup>28</sup>

Although these obstacles were not easy to surmount, the most serious difficulty in the abolition of the traffic was the use made of United States vessels and the flag that they bore. In the early forties, President Tyler, in answer to a senate resolution calling for the circumstances leading to the insertion of the slave trade provisions in the Webster-Ashburton Treaty, called attention to the well-grounded suspicions that a few United States vessels were engaged in the traffic to Brazil.<sup>29</sup> The president's information was either incomplete or else the use of United States vessels increased very rapidly, for about a year later the United States minister to Brazil wrote his government that

It is a fact not to be disguised or denied, that the slave trade is almost entirely carried on under our flag and in American built vessels sold here, chartered for the coast of Africa to slave traders. Indeed the scandalous traffic could not be carried on to any extent were it not for the use made of our flag, and the facilities given by the chartering of American vessels to carry to the coast of Africa the outfit for the trade and the materials for purchasing slaves.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Buxton, *op. cit.*, p. 186 *et seq.*

<sup>28</sup> Minister Wise to the Secretary of State, December 14, 1844, and May 1, 1845, in Despatches, XIII.

<sup>29</sup> *Sen. Ex. Doc.* 52, 27 cong., 3 sess. (serial 414), pp. 3-4.

<sup>30</sup> Minister Proffitt to his government, February 27, 1844, in Despatches, XII.

After mentioning the case of the brig *Hope* as an exemplification of the manner in which the United States flag was "used and disgraced by American citizens", the minister proceeded to tell the president that he had "been incorrectly informed as to the efficiency of the American squadron on the coast of Africa in suppressing the slave trade". In the latter connection he remarked that

the slave traders laugh at our African squadron and more than one trader to the coast has openly avowed that he could sail round the Frigate Macedonian three times in three miles, that they would not care if there were twenty such Frigates on that coast, that they have never yet seen one of the American squadron although they have visited the coast for hundreds of miles and that the only cruisers they meet with are British, and to them they have but to display American colors.<sup>31</sup>

At this point we may inquire how it was possible for the slave dealers to employ United States vessels and the Stars and Stripes in the prosecution of their infamous business. The chief explanation is found in the United States practice of granting sea-letters to vessels sold in foreign ports by one citizen of the United States to another. Passed as far back as 1792 for the purpose of encouraging ship-building, the statute permitting this practice limited neither the duration nor the destination of the voyages made after transfers to new owners. Thus United States citizens in Brazil could purchase ships from their countrymen and apply to United States consuls for permission to make voyages to the African coast. Since orders from Washington made the issuance of sea-letters peremptory, there could be no denial on the part of consular officials, regardless of any suspicions which they may have possessed regarding the nature of the proposed voyages.

Before the vessels acquiring sea-letters left Brazil they were chartered, ostensibly, by Brazilian slave dealers to take merchandise, and usually "passengers", to the African coast. In case only merchandise, known widely as "coast goods",

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

was on board, the vessels unloaded their cargoes in Africa, reloaded with such African goods and passengers as could be obtained, and returned to Brazil. But in case both merchandise and "passengers" were aboard for the eastern voyages, the procedure was different upon the arrival in Africa. In the event the goods were landed, the United States crews were replaced by new crews composed of the "passengers" carried over, the names of the vessels were changed by a few strokes of the paint brush, the Stars and Stripes were replaced by the Brazilian emblem, and finally negroes were rushed onto the improvised slave decks. With these labors completed in the course of a few hours, the vessels sought an opportune moment and put out across the Atlantic to land their live cargoes on the Brazilian coast. On the western voyages the Brazilian slavers usually escaped capture by the British cruisers either because United States vessels served as decoys or because the slavers themselves often hoisted the United States flag when in danger. The American crews left stranded on the African coast usually found passage back to Brazil on ships of their own nationality, though occasionally they returned on Brazilian slavers rather than subject themselves for long periods to the dangerous fevers infesting the African coast.

It has been suggested that the United States vessels securing sea-letters in Brazil were only nominally chartered for the purpose of conveying merchandise and "passengers" to the African coast. In truth such vessels were usually purchased by the slave dealers with the condition, secured in the form of a charter party, that a part of the purchase price remain unpaid until the ships had made one or more trips to the coast of Africa under their ostensible American character. After the fulfillment of the condition named in the charter party, the vessels were transferred to the slave dealers, or rather to their agents on the African coast.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>32</sup> This summary is based on a study of hundreds of pages of correspondence between consuls and ministers with their official superiors and on other documents.



Perhaps a summary of the activities of three vessels which participated in the nefarious traffic may serve to supply a few details to the story just told in outline. One of these vessels was the *Agnes*, a United States merchant ship hitherto employed in lawful trade between Rio de Janeiro and Philadelphia. On a visit to the Brazilian capital in 1843, it carried among its papers a letter from its owners instructing its Rio consignees to obtain an advantageous charter party for the vessel. As was customary, the consignees employed an English broker named Weetman, of the British firm Nobkirk and Weetman, to negotiate the charter party. According to the document, the vessel was leased to Manoel Pinto da Fonseca, whose only business was that of the slave trade, and whose reputation was as notorious as any other fact in the Brazilian capital. The *Agnes* returned to Philadelphia, where the charter party was to begin, took on a cargo, and at the end of October sailed for Liverpool. While in the English city, it disposed of its cargo and received a new one consisting of sundry drygoods, powder, muskets, bar and hoop iron, and other articles—all known as “coast goods”. About the first of January, 1844, it sailed with this cargo for Rio de Janeiro, consigned to United States merchants. As there was no intention of discharging any of its cargo, the vessel entered the Brazilian port in *franquía*. After remaining in Rio two or three days—long enough to take orders from charterer Fonseca—the *Agnes* cleared for Montevideo. But instead of going to the Uruguayan city, it sailed direct for Cabinda, Africa, consigned to one Cunha, a known agent of Fonseca. During its stay of several months on the African coast the cargo of “coast goods” taken in at Liverpool was discharged, part at Cabinda and part on the Congo.

Meanwhile, another United States vessel was engaged in

See especially President Tyler to Congress, February 20, 1845, in *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, III. 215-217; Consul Gordon to Buchanan, September 18, 1845, in *Consular Letters (Rio)*, XI.; Lord Howden to Viscount Palmerston, November 12, 1847, in *Parliamentary Papers*, Slave Trade, class B, pp. 229-230.

similar activities. Toward the close of 1843, the brig *Montevideo* arrived at Rio de Janeiro, consigned to a United States house other than that to which the *Agnes* was consigned, with instructions to charter it for the African-coast trade. The consignees negotiated the charter party—again through the English broker—with the same notorious Fonseca. It stipulated that the *Montevideo*, in consideration of \$900 per month, should take in at Rio a cargo for the African coast, the charterer having the privilege of determining the nature of the cargo and of placing on board a certain number of passengers. On February 11, 1844, the vessel sailed for Cabinda with its “coast goods” and Brazilian passengers. In due time the goods were delivered to Fonseca’s agent, the passengers were put ashore, and the vessel returned to Victoria, Brazil, where it began preparations for another similar venture.

While the crew of the *Agnes* was fighting the fevers of the African coast, and the *Montevideo* was making its first voyage, a third vessel was playing a complementary part. This vessel, the *Sea-Eagle*, arrived at the Brazilian capital in the late spring or early summer of 1844 and was chartered through the same agents and under the same general terms as the *Montevideo*. In other words, it was engaged by Fonseca to deliver merchandise and passengers to the African coast. In the course of time the *Sea-Eagle*, in fulfillment of the terms of its engagement, reached Cabinda, Africa, where it found the *Agnes* still lying at anchor. Immediately the announcement was made that a Captain Gray, who had come aboard the *Sea-Eagle* from Philadelphia, had sold the *Agnes* to Mr. Cunha. Shortly after the transfer, the *Agnes*, its temporary slave decks—devised from iron pipes, pieces of wood, and rush mats—jammed with over five-hundred negroes, and its United States flag and papers replaced by those of Brazilian character, set sail for Brazil under the management of a crew composed of the “passengers” taken over by the *Sea-Eagle* and *Montevideo*. A few weeks later it

landed its live cargo on the Brazilian coast near Cape Frio.

Meanwhile, the *Montevideo*—which our story left at Victoria, Brazil—was assembling another cargo and sailing for Africa on a second voyage. Upon arrival at Cabinda this time, both ship and cargo were delivered to Cunha, who, after transferring the United States crew to the *Sea-Eagle*, and changing its flag, papers, and name, loaded the *Montevideo* with eight-hundred slaves and started it on a return voyage in charge of a Brazilian crew who were taken over as “passengers”. The *Sea-Eagle*, which it will be recalled carried to Africa the Brazilian crew for the *Agnes*, likewise began its return voyage, though instead of having slaves aboard it had the United States crews of both the *Montevideo* and the *Agnes*—that is, those who had escaped death—and a small quantity of African merchandise.

Ostensibly, both the *Agnes* and the *Montevideo* were sold on the African coast. As a matter of fact, both vessels were sold before departure from Brazil, the charter parties making possible delivery on the African coast. In the case of the *Sea-Eagle*, the bargain was also made in Brazil, though the charter party may have been genuine rather than complementary to a sale.<sup>23</sup>

The procedure of the slave importers in making the United States flag serve their purpose was often more complex than that just described; indeed, it was such at times as to baffle every attempt at tracing, even by those expert at the task. Part of the complexity resulted from the fact that vessels bound for Africa cleared for all parts of the world—lands in the South Atlantic and Indian oceans, ports in Asia, Europe, and the United States—and part from the existence of two sets of papers for each vessel. However complex the

<sup>23</sup> The facts detailed in these cases are found in the depositions of the American masters and crews taken at Rio de Janeiro by United States representatives. See Gordon to Secretary Calhoun, December 1844, and January 1845, in Consular Letters (Rio), VII., VIII., and IX.; see also a communication from Minister Wise, December 14, 1844, in Despatches, XIII.



procedure, the United States flag protected practically all the material used in the purchase and transportation of the negroes to the new world. But it not only protected the materials until the moment before the negroes were placed on board the transporting ships; it always gave indirect, and frequently direct, protection to the live cargoes themselves. Furthermore, United States citizens, in the capacity of agents, captains, masters, or crews, must share with the subjects of other nations in the responsibility for the prostitution of their country's escutcheon.

At this point it may not be out of place to interject the remarks of two United States ministers to Brazil, both of whom had unusual opportunities to view the various phases of the entire subject of the trade. Stimulated by recently conducted investigations, Henry A. Wise wrote in a dispatch to his government on February 18, 1845:

I beseech—I implore the President of the United States to take a decided stand on this subject. You have no conception of the bold effrontery and the flagrant outrages of the African slave trade, and of the shameless manner in which its worst crimes are licensed here. And every patriot in our land would blush for our country, did he know and see as I do, how our own citizens sail and sell our flag to the uses and abuses of that accursed traffic in almost open violation of our laws. We are a “bye word among nations”—the only people who can now fetch and carry any and every thing for the slave trade, without fear of English cruisers; and because we are the only people who can, are we to allow our proudest privilege to be perverted, and to pervert our own glorious flag into the pirate's flag—the slaver's protection—the Brazilian and Portuguese and Spanish passport to a criminal commerce against our own laws and the municipal laws of almost every civilized nation upon earth? . . . Our flag alone gives the requisite protection against the right of visit, search and seizure; and our citizens, in all the characters of owners, of consignees, of agents and of masters and crews of our vessels, are concerned in the business and partake of the profits of the African slave trade, to and from the ports of Brazil, as fully as the Brazilians themselves and others, in conjunction with whom they carry it on.

In fact, without the aid of our citizens and our flag it could not be carried on with success at all. They furnish the protection; they are the commerce carriers; they sail over and deliver up to the trade, vessels as well as cargoes; they transport the supplies of slave factories, the food and raiment of the slave trade's agents, and the goods which constitute the purchase money of the slave trade's victims; they carry the arms and the ardent spirits which are the hellish agents and instruments of the savage wars of African captivity; they afford safe passage to Brazilian masters and crews intended for the slave vessels when sold, and for the American masters and crews who have manned these vessels over to the Coast; and they realize a profit in proportion to the risks of a contraband trade. In one word, the sacred principle of the inviolability of the protection of our flag, is perverted in the ports of Brazil into a perfect monopoly of the unhallowed gains of the navigation of the African slave trade. And for the reason of this inviolability, our flag, and vessels are sought and bought, and our citizens at home and here, sail them and sell them in the African slave trade to and from all the ports of Brazil. And in all those ports, and in this the metropolitan port of Rio de Janeiro, especially, our vessels are fitted out for the slave trade, and the most of the crimes of that trade, in violation of the laws of the United States, openly have their inception under the very eye of the Imperial Government; and in them all, and in this port, especially, the consummation of those crimes is sheltered, as of right, by the sovereign jurisdiction of this Empire.<sup>34</sup>

Equally as illuminating were the remarks of David Tod made five years later :

Citizens of the United States are constantly in this capital [Rio], whose only occupation is the buying of American vessels with which to supply the slave importers. These men obtain sea-letters, which entitle them to continue in use the United States flag, and it is this privilege which enables them to sell their vessels to the slave traders, deliverable on the coast of Africa, at double, and sometimes more than double, the price for which they were purchased on the preceding day. The vessels take over slave goods and slave crews, under the protection of our flag, and remain nominally American property

<sup>34</sup> Wise to U. S. government, February 18, 1845, in Despatches, XIII.

until a favorable opportunity occurs for receiving a cargo of slaves; and it is not unfrequently the case that our flag covers the slaves until the Africans are landed upon the coast of Brazil.<sup>35</sup>

Data assembled by United States consular staffs in Brazil seem to justify these accounts. During the five year period ending in 1845 sixty-four vessels of the United States were sold in Rio de Janeiro alone. That most of these were employed in the slave trade can be little doubted. Furthermore, during the same period fifty-six United States ships left the Brazilian capital for, and forty arrived from, Africa. Inasmuch as there was almost no legitimate commerce between Brazil and the dark continent, these figures also are significant.<sup>36</sup> The figures for other Brazilian ports run high, particularly in the case of Bahia, but are much smaller than those for the capital. It would be futile to attempt even an estimate of the number of United States citizens who served in one capacity or another connected with the trade; it is sufficient to say that it falls in the thousands. It is certain, however, that through the aid of the Yankees and of their flag hundreds of thousands of negroes were transported from Africa to Brazil between 1835 and 1853.<sup>37</sup>

Finally, we may consider the attitude of the United States government toward the Brazilian trade and then seek an explanation of this attitude. At the outset it may be admitted that the inquiry into these topics will fail to yield totally satisfactory results. In connection with the attitude toward the traffic it is well to remember that congress had prohibited the importation of negroes into the United States after 1808 and had made participation in the trade on the part of the United States citizens piracy. The justice and wisdom of these laws was acknowledged by all classes regardless of locality. Nevertheless, down to the outbreak of the civil war hundreds of

<sup>35</sup> Minister Tod to the Secretary of State, January 8, 1850, in *Despatches*, XVII.

<sup>36</sup> Consul Gordon to Buchanan, September 18, 1845, in *Consular Letters*, XI.

<sup>37</sup> Many of the consular reports substantiate these estimates. See for example the last citation.



United States citizens participated in the trade, most of them practically without danger of governmental molestation. What was worse they performed their deeds enshrouded as it were in the Stars and Stripes.

Failure to prevent United States participation in the slave trade may be accounted for in two ways, namely, non-enforcement of laws already on the statute books and unwillingness to enact and enforce other laws. In the former case, responsibility obviously rested with the executive and judicial branches of government; in the latter it rested largely with the legislature. But it may be of interest to go further in an attempt to allocate this responsibility, particularly in the matter of non-enforcement. By way of elimination, our official representatives to Brazil should be absolved from all blame. Ministers Proffitt, Wise, Tod, and Schenck, whose terms cover the period of most flagrant violation, kept their superiors supplied with detailed and accurate information on all phases of the traffic. No less diligent were the United States consuls, who labored long and arduously in taking depositions and in assembling other pertinent information on the trade.<sup>38</sup>

Unfortunately, the executive agents at home were not quite as enthusiastic as those in Brazil. Nor is this surprising, for their duties were many, and the iniquities of the African trade did not come directly before their eyes. Nevertheless, the chief executives themselves seem to have given much consideration to the performance of the duties which devolved upon them in this connection. At any rate, during the decade between 1839 and 1849, the most active period of United States participation in the evil, Van Buren, Tyler, and Taylor resorted frequently to the presidential message to inform congress of the true status of the subject and made positive recommendations for measures calculated to rem-

<sup>38</sup> For typical communications see dispatches of February 27 and December 14, 1844, January 8, 1850, and April 26, 1852, in *Despatches*, XII, XIII., XVII., and XIX.; also consular report of September 18, 1845, in *Consular Letters* (Rio), XI.

edy the glaring abuses.<sup>39</sup> But this apparent interest was not shared by all whose positions came under the supervision of the executive branch of government. The secretaries of state all but ignored the desperate appeals of our ministers and consuls for counsel and advice on matters pertaining to their offices. Writing from Rio de Janeiro in 1845, Consul Gordon complained because he had received only four replies to his thirty-three letters on the subject of the slave trade; and more significant was Minister Tod's acknowledgment—no doubt in a sarcastic vein—five years later of receipt of his *first* instruction in answer to dozens of his dispatches on the same subject. When an occasional communication did find its way out of the foreign office, the information it contained was usually fragmentary and evasive. In an exceptional case, however, the content of an instruction was both full and explicit. It was when the United States minister to Brazil was directed to reverse his policy of refusing to permit the granting of sea-letters to vessels whose destinations were obviously the African coast. While grounded on both precedent and legality, this instruction encouraged the illegal use of the United States flag.<sup>40</sup> It is interesting to note that there was little or no variation in policy whether the department of state was directed by Daniel Webster, James Buchanan, John C. Calhoun, or John M. Clayton—at least so far as the instructions reveal.

It is doubtful whether the policy pursued by the department of the navy was more conducive to the enforcement of United States statutes. Impressed with the fact that large cruisers were not of the slightest practical utility for running behind islands and into creeks, coves, and inlets of the Brazilian coast, where the slave vessels went to take in sup-

<sup>39</sup> J. D. Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, III. 1755, 1836-1837, 1903, 1930-1931, 2215-17, IV. 2553.

<sup>40</sup> Apparently no copy of this instruction was preserved. That the instruction was sent there can be no doubt. For reference to it see David Tod to Secretary Clayton, January 8, 1850, in *Despatches*, XVII.

plies, to land their live cargoes, and to escape observation or pursuit, our consuls and ministers unanimously recommended that they be replaced by vessels of a lighter class.<sup>41</sup> But for some reason the "floating palaces" of the commodores, as the large cruisers were called, remained in service, to the great delight of illicit traders, and probably naval commanders.

If considerable responsibility for failure to enforce old statutes should be attached to the executive branch of government, even more should be attached to congress for refusal to enact a new statute. The *sine qua non* for putting an end to United States participation in the African traffic was a law prohibiting the granting of sea-letters, except for voyages home, to United States vessels sold in foreign ports. Such a law, with proper enforcement, would have prevented United States crews from delivering slave vessels and "coast goods" to Africa and the employment of the United States flag to protect the live cargoes on the western voyages. But notwithstanding the urgent appeals of all our Brazilian agents, and the numerous recommendations of the chief executives, congress refused to give serious consideration to any effective measure.<sup>42</sup>

The United States judiciary also had to take cognizance of the slave trade. As a result of the exertions of United States representatives to Brazil, vast quantities of material implicating many persons reached the district attorneys of the Atlantic coast states. Although there were several convictions for violating the laws against the trade, the verdicts were more often for acquittal. When unfavorable verdicts were returned, the penalties were seldom severe. The fact that the first death penalty for violation of the piracy act came forty-three years after its passage is very significant.

<sup>41</sup> For a typical recommendation see Schenck to Webster, April 26, 1852, in Despatches, XIX.

<sup>42</sup> Typical appeals of United States ministers may be found in communications of Tod and Schenck, January 8, 1850, and April 26, 1852, in *ibid.*, XVII. and XIX. The recommendations of the presidents have already been noted.



The laxity, however, is easily explained: the crime had its inception in a distant land and a conviction was in great measure dependent upon a chain of circumstantial evidence and an intimate familiarity with the mode of conducting the trade which could be obtainable only on the spot where the offense originated. As a consequence, it is not surprising to learn that a Captain Hiram Gray, commander of the noted slaver *Agnes*, was acquitted in the district court at Baltimore for lack of evidence. Although usually very diligent in attending to his duties, in this case Consul Gordon had failed to take some necessary depositions at Rio de Janeiro.<sup>43</sup> On the other hand, the captain and first mate of the slaver *Montevideo* were convicted of a misdemeanor by the same court. The captain received twelve months' imprisonment and a fine of \$1,000, while the mate got six months in prison and a \$500 fine.<sup>44</sup> The district court at New York, in 1850, sentenced to the penitentiary for two years the mate of the *Martha*, a slaver captured off the African coast by the United States brig *Perry*. Unfortunately, the *Martha's* captain, whose bail had been reduced from \$5,000 to \$3,000, escaped conviction by jumping bond.<sup>45</sup>

If the United States minister Mr. Wise had had his way, the courts would have had more cases to adjudicate. Knowing that trial in the Brazilian courts was a travesty on justice, on one occasion he requested the Brazilian foreign minister to secure the arrest of four persons on board the notorious *Porpoise* so that they could be sent home for trial. While waiting for a reply, Wise, accompanied by the United States consul, went on board the slaver to conduct a personal inquiry. Convinced that there was guilt in several cases, a United States guard was placed on the vessels with orders not to permit the escape of any person. Unfortunately,

<sup>43</sup> *Baltimore Sun*, September 3 and 4, 1845; Wise to Buchanan, November 24, 1845, in *Despatches*, XIV.

<sup>44</sup> *Parliamentary Papers*, *Slave Trade*, 1846, class D, pp. 132-133.

<sup>45</sup> A. H. Foote, *op. cit.*, pp. 287-290.

the strict orders prevented Brazilians as well as Americans from going ashore. As a result, a wave of excitement seized the city populace that led to a demand for the release of the Brazilians. To avoid complications Wise was forced to yield. Encouraged by victory in the first diplomatic encounter, the Brazilian ministers of state and justice next insisted on the release of the United States prisoners and the vessel as a condition precedent to deciding the question of extradition. Partly because of the stand taken by the United States commodore stationed in Brazilian waters, Wise was finally persuaded to yield his position a second time. It is useless to state that the request for extradition was not granted. The only compensation the minister got for his dogged persistence was a strong rebuke from his government for going beyond instructions to advocate a principle which the United States had invariably opposed.<sup>46</sup>

Considered geographically, it is not so difficult to locate responsibility for United States participation in the Brazilian trade. Most of the vessels intended for sale to Brazilian slave dealers were built in New York, Providence, Beverley, Boston, Salem, and Portland, though some were launched as far south as Philadelphia and Baltimore. The capitalists, who made possible the building, along with others, knew very well the uses which these vessels were to serve. The vessels were, in fact, built specifically for the traffic, and sold deliverable to the African coast. They were responsible for the abuse of the United States flag, the emblem which afforded protection not only to the time of sale to the slave kings but often long thereafter. The officers and crews who navigated these slavers to the African coast and who often became directly involved in the trade were naturally from the ship-building centers. In defense of the crews, some of whose representatives were arraigned before United States

<sup>46</sup> For the entire controversy over extradition see Wise to Buchanan, February 18, 1845, in *Despatches*, XIII. See also *Instructions to Brazilian Ministers*, XV. 119-125.

tribunals, it may be said that they were usually employed unaware of the illegality implicated in their engagements. As usual in such cases, technicalities of the laws gave adequate protection to those most responsible for their violation.<sup>47</sup>

It is interesting to observe that the section of the United States which gave greatest support to abolitionism also gave greatest encouragement to the foreign slave trade. Furthermore, the support accorded these apparently antagonistic movements was at floodtide at about the same time. While it would be unreasonable to believe that many individuals gave support to the contrary movements, at least at the same time, a citizen of Maine earned for himself that reputation. The owner of the *Bangor Gazette* preached abolition in the columns of his paper at the same time he engaged in building ships which he knew were to be used in the illicit trade. The lucrative business of shipbuilding may account for the New Englander's hypocrisy.<sup>48</sup>

A partial explanation of the United States government's attitude toward the slave trade is found in the disagreements of Washington and London officials over a common policy for suppression. Following close upon separate movements in the two countries, which resulted in the abolition acts of 1807, the common program bore its first fruit in the treaty of Ghent, article ten of which obligated the Anglo-Saxon powers to use their best endeavors to put an end to the traffic.<sup>49</sup> Apparently Great Britain was the more aggressive in carrying out the obligation; at any rate within a short time that country had entered into treaties with several of the continental nations looking toward extermination of the trade. These treaties, as already noted, provided for the mutual right of search and for trial of all captures before mixed tribunals. Not content to confine its attempts to the old world,

<sup>47</sup> On this general topic consult communications of Proffitt, February 27, 1844, Wise, March 6, 1846, and Tod, March 18, 1850, in Despatches, XII., XV., and XVII., respectively.

<sup>48</sup> Wise to Buchanan, March 6, 1846, in *ibid.*, XV.

<sup>49</sup> W. M. Malloy, *Treaties and Conventions*, I. 618.



however, Great Britain soon approached the United States to enter into a treaty providing for a similar arrangement. President Monroe objected to both the right of search for non-piratical offenses and to trial of cases by mixed tribunals, and suggested a counter proposal, the essential feature of which was a provision to make the trade piracy. On March 13, 1824, after several months of discussion, a convention was signed. A compromise measure, the document not only declared the slave trade piracy, but it authorized the naval officers of the signatories "to cruise on the coasts of Africa, of America, and of the West Indies", the captures to be taken before the courts of the nation to which the vessels belonged. Notwithstanding his opposition to the principle of the right of search, President Monroe urged the ratification of this convention. He professed to believe that the limited right of search granted would not be abused. But when the document came before the United States senate, it encountered strong opposition, the attacks centering on the clause extending the right of search to the coast "of America". Although ratification was finally achieved, it came only after the attachment of several conditions and reservations. Great Britain rejected the convention as amended by the senate. Other proposals brought the two nations no nearer agreement. The right of search was invariably the insuperable difficulty.<sup>50</sup>

Inasmuch as the smoke of the war of 1812 had hardly cleared away, it is not surprising that the United States under the administrations of James Monroe and John Quincy Adams refused to acquiesce in any proposals which gave countenance to the principle of the right of search. Whether surprising or not, the same policy was continued until the outbreak of the civil war in the United States. Adherence to this policy is partial explanation of the refusal of the

<sup>50</sup> On the convention of 1824 see *American State Papers*, V. 360-362; *Parliamentary Papers*, Slave Trade, 1832, class B, p. 246; Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, II. 812-826.

United States to become a party to the Franco-British treaty on the same subject eight years later. Nor was there deviation from the same program in the negotiation of the Webster-Ashburton treaty, the eighth and ninth articles of which pledged the signatories to maintain squadrons on the African coast adequate to carry no less than eighty guns for the suppression of the trade and to remonstrate against the continuance of slave markets wherever they still existed. It is true, however, that Lewis Cass, our minister to France, resigned his post and returned home in disgust because his government had failed to make fullest use of its opportunities in securing renunciation of the right of search by Great Britain during negotiations. Although Mr. Cass may have been sincere in his protest, there is little evidence that his government intended yielding its cherished principle.<sup>51</sup>

Whether Great Britain was actually making use of slave-trade suppression propaganda in order to get acceptance of its old principle of the right of search need not concern us here. In any event it was unfortunate that the principle lay at the heart of the British proposals, for it made agreement on a common program impossible.

Equally as important in determining the attitude of the Washington government toward the trade was the rivalry of the United States and Great Britain growing out of attempts of each to secure a dominant position in Hispanic American affairs. Beginning during the struggle of the Hispanic Americans for independence, and becoming keen before the middle of the nineteenth century, this rivalry expressed itself in Texas, in Mexico, in Central America, and in South America.<sup>52</sup> Nowhere on the continent of South America per-

<sup>51</sup> Richardson, *Messages and Papers*, III. 1930-1931, 2068-2073; *Sen. Ex. Doc.* 1, 27 cong., 3 sess. (serial 413), pp. 31-32, 107-110; *Sen. Ex. Doc.* 223, 27 cong., 3 sess. (serial 416). See also an article entitled "The British Right of Search and the African Slave Trade" by R. W. Van Alstyne, in *The Journal of Modern History*, II. No. 1.

<sup>52</sup> For the general topic of Anglo-American rivalry in Hispanic America, see J. Fred Rippy, *Rivalry of the United States and Great Britain over Latin America*,

haps did the rivalry express itself more fully than in Brazil. And in Brazil the clearest manifestation of the spirit was in the contest for the abolition of the slave trade. The United States government was not particularly anxious to coöperate in carrying out a program which British statesmen admitted had for its ultimate goal the extinction of the institution of slavery, and which at the same time seemed likely to enhance generally the power and prestige of its greatest rival in the western hemisphere.

That differences of viewpoint on the maritime principle of the right of search and rivalry resulting from attempts to establish national policies in Brazil affected the plan for the break-up of the slave trade there can be no reasonable doubt; that these factors determined in large measure the attitude of the United States government toward the plan is quite probable. Furthermore, agitation over these dual factors caused many Americans to question both the motives and the methods of the British government in endeavoring to carry through its program. Some Yankee critics vowed that the British were more interested in securing for British merchants a monopoly of the African trade than in the welfare of the negroes. This was the explanation for the British refusal to destroy the factories along the African coast where all the supplies used in the purchase and transportation of the slaves were stored, for the destruction of such stations meant the destruction of markets for English goods; it was the explanation of the numerous treaties, which were largely of a commercial nature, negotiated by the London government with the African chiefs; it supported the allegation that the British cruisers more frequently made prizes of the slavers after the negroes had been taken on board than before. Other critics attacked the British practice which permitted the negroes liberated by the courts to be bound out to British planters in

(1808-1830). The same author also has an excellent article on the rivalry of these powers in Mexico entitled "Britain's Rôle in the Early Relations of the United States and Mexico", in *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, VII. No. 1, 2-24.



Guiana and the West Indies for periods of three to seven years. It was hard to see how this system of apprenticeship, which was occasionally extended to three consecutive terms, differed from outright slavery. Unfortunately, British policy encountered grave criticism at home also.<sup>53</sup>

Whether these criticisms of British policy were well founded will have to be determined by further research. But, whether based on fact or myth, they furnished some support for United States policy. Together with the controversies over the right of search and the establishment of national policies in Brazil, they determined that policy on the slave trade.

LAWRENCE F. HILL.

Ohio State University.

<sup>53</sup> For much material on this topic see T. F. Buxton, *The African Slave Trade*, p. 228 *et seq.*; W. R. Greg, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-15; United States ministers to their government, April 29, 1839, January 7 and December 14, 1844, September 29, 1846, and August 1, 1852, in Despatches, XI, XII, XIII, XV, XVIII.

## THE FIRST AMERICAN MINT

American coinage had its beginning in the royal cédula of May 11, 1535. This order led directly to the founding of a mint in Mexico City, and to the coining of the first American money. The story of the transplanting of this phase of European culture to the new world has a scant and on the whole unsatisfactory literature.<sup>1</sup>

What has been written is in Spanish. The lack of any treatment in the English language is striking, inasmuch as Anglo-America, as well as Hispanic America, owes so great a debt to this pioneer mint. One has only to cite the American dollar, the dollar sign,<sup>2</sup> and the colloquialism "two bits",

<sup>1</sup> The most important study on Mexican coinage is that of Manuel Orozco y Berra, *Apuntes para la historia de la moneda y acuñación en México desde antes de la conquista* (Mexico, 1880). The whole field of Spanish coinage in the Christian era is ably covered by Alois Heiss in his monumental work, *Descripción general de las monedas Hispano-Cristianas desde la invasion de los Arabes* (2 vols., Madrid, 1865-1869). A convenient summary, largely based on these works, is to be found in Vicente Riva Palacio (Ed.), *México á través de los siglos*, II. 241-248 (Barcelona, 1888-1889). Useful works are José Toribio Medina, *Monedas y medallas hispano americanas* (Santiago de Chile, 1891); F. de Elhuyar, *Indagaciones sobre la amonedación en la Nueva España* (Madrid, 1818); Clarence Henry Haring, "American gold and silver production in the first half of the sixteenth century", in *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, XXIX. 433-479; Adolfo Herrera, *El "duro". Estudio de los reales de a ocho españoles . . . en los dominios de la corona de España*. 2 vols. (Madrid, 1914). A helpful article on the relative values of Spanish coins is, F. A. Kirkpatrick, *Spanish Currency in the time of Philip II*, reprinted, with additions, from the syllabus of the Cambridge University Extension Meeting, held at Exeter in August, 1904 (Cambridge, 1926).

<sup>2</sup> The dollar sign was derived directly from the florescent "ps", used as an abbreviation for pesos, piastres, or pieces (of eight). Cf. Florian Cajori, *A history of mathematical notations* (2 vols., Chicago, 1929), II. 15-29. The examples cited by Cajori show clearly the evolution of the sign from the abbreviation to the conventionalized monogram. His earliest example of the sign, in which English scribes substituted the two straight lines for the Spanish florescent "p" is from the year 1775. Earlier examples supporting his view are to be seen in the Asiento Papers, vols. 41 and 42 of the Shelburne Mss., William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan.

all derived from the coinage system then established. A survey of the printed sources, and a new investigation of the available archival materials, pertinent to the subject, seems to justify a study of this institution through the early years of its history.

When the Spanish conquerers arrived in Mexico, they brought with them their own notions of coinage. In theory, the Spanish coins of the time became the official media of exchange in the new world.<sup>3</sup> Actually, however, there was no supply of Spanish money beyond the relatively small amounts which settlers and explorers brought with them by special license.<sup>4</sup> Nor had the native civilizations any substitute to offer. They had not yet developed any system of exchange based on coinage, or on the use of the precious metals.<sup>5</sup> As a result the conquerers were forced to resort to the use of gold and silver by weight in the form of slugs and dust. This practice became so firmly fixed before the establishment of the mint that the term *peso* (weight) came to be accepted as the name of the later monetary unit.<sup>6</sup>

With the rapid growth of population, the expansion of trade, and the development of mining, this lack of money produced, as the years went by, an increasingly serious situation. The home government moved slowly. The coining of money was a royal prerogative to be delegated with the utmost circumspection. The successful adventurer Cortés, obviously, was not to be entrusted with such responsibility.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Riva Palacio, *op. cit.*, II. 242.

<sup>4</sup> Cédula, Madrid, May 31, 1535, in *Colección de documentos inéditos . . . de Ultramar* (segunda serie, Madrid, 1885-) X. 272-273.

<sup>5</sup> "Certain articles formed a rough-and-ready currency in commerce, such as textiles and maize; cacao beans were also used as a kind of 'small change', and copper axe-blades were employed in certain localities, such as Oaxaca. More than one of the contemporary historians mention quills containing gold-dust as being utilized for the same purpose". Thomas A. Joyce, *Mexican archaeology* (New York, 1914), pp. 128-129. Also *vide infra* n. 26.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. H. Halke, *Handwörterbuch der Münskunde und ihrer Hilfswissenschaften* (Berlin, 1909), p. 281, under "*Peso de a ocho*".



So bitter was the adverse criticism aroused by the first audiencia that even its continuance in office was in doubt, let alone the initiation of new governmental activities under its administration. Indeed, as early as 1529, the crown had under consideration the appointment of a viceroy for New Spain.<sup>7</sup> All innovations were postponed until this new official should arrive. The second audiencia which served from 1530 to 1535, pending his appointment, merely remedied abuses, and paved the way for his government. Before the advent of the viceroy, however, the royal government had informed itself, through the opinions of various officials, including Bishop Zumárraga, of the pressing need for a mint.<sup>8</sup> Before Antonio de Mendoza, the first viceroy, left the shores of Spain, a royal order had been issued, dated at Madrid, May 11, 1535, directing the establishment of the mint.<sup>9</sup>

Among the chief problems left unsolved by the patently temporary government of the second audiencia was that of royal finance, and the new viceroy was to be chiefly concerned with the increase of the royal revenue. The creation of a standard royal monetary system which should put an end to the unofficial circulation of uncoined gold was one of the essential steps in the attainment of economic and political order. It was in keeping with the viceroy's program for centralizing authority and the symbols of authority about his office.

In Antonio de Mendoza's instructions, April 25, 1535, the difficulties resulting from the lack of currency are detailed, and the viceroy is ordered to establish a mint, ordinances for

<sup>7</sup> Arthur Scott Aiton, *Antonio de Mendoza, first viceroy of New Spain* (Durham, 1927), pp. 21-22.

<sup>8</sup> Riva Palacio, *op. cit.*, II. 242.

<sup>9</sup> *Ordenanças sobre la moneda de plata y vellon, dadas por instruccion*, Madrid, May 11, 1535, in Vasco de Puga, *Provisiones, Cédulas . . . de esta Nueva España* (Mexico, edition de "El sistema postal" 1878), I. 360-365, hereinafter cited as Puga, *Cedulario* (a reprint of the original edition of 1563); also in *Ultramar*, X. 264-271.

which were to be formulated by the council of the Indies.<sup>10</sup> In consultation with officials of various mints in Spain such ordinances were prepared, and the queen, acting in the absence of the emperor, made these ordinances effective in the above mentioned royal cédula, dated at Madrid, May 11, 1535.<sup>11</sup>

These royal orders detailed the procedure which the viceroy was to follow in organizing the mint. He was directed to observe the laws laid down by the Catholic Kings concerning the mints of the Spanish kingdoms.<sup>12</sup> Silver and copper money was to be coined in an amount commensurate with the needs. The coining of gold was, for the time being, specifically prohibited.<sup>13</sup> Of the total amount of silver coined, one-half was to be in pieces of one real, one-fourth in pieces of two and three reales, the remaining fourth in pieces of one-half and one-fourth reales. In weight and size they were to conform to the laws of Spain. The design is described as follows:

The one real, two real, and three real pieces shall bear on the obverse castles and lions with the pomegranate, and on the reverse two columns, and between them a scroll, bearing the inscription "PLUS ULTRA", which is the device of the emperor my Lord, and the half reales are to bear on the obverse a "K" and an "I", and on the reverse the aforementioned device of the columns with the aforementioned scroll with "PLUS ULTRA", and the quarter reales shall bear upon the obverse an "I" and on the reverse a "K" and the legend of all the aforementioned money shall read: "CAROLUS ET YOANA, REGES HISPANIE ET INDIARUM" and there shall be

<sup>10</sup> *Colección de documentos inéditos, relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y colonización de las antiguas posesiones españolas en América y Oceanía* (42 vols., Madrid, 1864-1884), XXIII, 431-432.

<sup>11</sup> *Documentos de ultramar*, X, 264-271. There is evidence that the founding of a mint in Santo Domingo was also contemplated soon thereafter but that money was actually struck is exceedingly doubtful. Cf. *Documentos inéditos*, I, 465; *Documentos de Ultramar*, X, 401.

<sup>12</sup> For the text of these ordinances see Heiss, *op. cit.*, I, "Documentos justificativos".

<sup>13</sup> For an account of the Spanish gold coinage of the time see Riva Palacio, *op. cit.*, II, 242-243. Gold was not coined in Mexico until the time of Viceroy Fray Payo Enriquez (1673-1681), *ibid.*, p. 686.

stamped and imprinted upon the side with the device of the columns a Latin "M", by which it shall be known that it was made in Mexico.<sup>14</sup>

"C. Pérez Bustamente, *Don Antonio de Mendoza, primer virrey de la Nueva España (Anales de la universidad de Santiago, III. Santiago de Galicia, 1928)* pp. 127-128; Puga, *Cedulario*, I. 360-365; Riva Palacio, *op. cit.*, II. 244; *Documentos de Ultramar*, X. 264-271. This translation is based on Bustamente's reading. Aside from certain minor variants the texts differ chiefly in that Puga and Ultramar read initial "R" for "K". The reproductions of these and other coins of Charles and Juana prove conclusively that the correct reading is "K", an abbreviation for the name Karolus or Krolus, forms frequently employed for the name of the emperor. Although some artistic liberties appear to have been taken in the actual designing of the coins they conform in general to the prescriptions of the law. All coins of the denomination of one real and above bear, on the obverse, the arms of Castile and Leon (a shield, quarterly, 1 and 4 castles, 2 and 3 lions, with the pomgranate of Granada at the base point). The crowned pillars of Hercules appear on all the coins, sometimes but not invariably resting in the sea. The inscription does not, in all cases, appear upon a scroll and, in the smaller coins, is variously abbreviated. The mint mark "M" appears on all the coins. Heiss is undoubtedly correct in his conjecture (*op. cit.*, I. 150-151) that the letter "O", which he notes in certain specimens of Mexican minted money, refers to the name of the assayer. The laws of the Catholic Kings prescribe that all coins of their dominions should bear the initial of the assayer of the mint of issue, as a guarantee of his responsibility for their legality in weight and purity. These laws were specifically made applicable to the mint of New Spain (*vid. sup.* n. 12 and text). In conformance with this law "O" or some other letter is borne by every Mexican coin. Some of the coins bear on the reverse an initial "R" for "reales" beneath an Arabic numeral, indicating the value of the coin. In these examples the initial of the assayer appears on the obverse, to the right of the shield with the mint mark "M" on the left. In the smaller coins, which bear no shield, the assayer's mark appears between the initials "K" and "I" while the "M" is repeated on both margins. In the coins which do not bear an "R" under the numeral, the assayer's mark appears on the reverse and, in such cases, the "M" is found to both the left and right of the shield on the obverse. (For reproduction of the coins, *cf.*, Heiss, *op. cit.*, I. plate 27, nos. 5-13; Riva Palacio, *op. cit.*, II. 246). Unfortunately, a complete list of assayers is not yet available and it is, therefore, impossible to utilize the initials for a more exact dating of the coins. They bear no year dates. One may, however, hazard the conjecture that the initial "G" designates the mintage of Gutierrez Velásquez or his son or his representative Juan Gutierrez (*vid. inf.* n. 34). These are the only assayers with the initial "G", so far brought to light in the period of Mendoza who had occupied the office by 1545. No coins bearing the initial of Rincón, the first assayer (*vid. inf.* n. 41) appear to have survived in the collections. Those bearing the "G", therefore, may well be the oldest examples of American coinage.



It was further decreed that this money might circulate at a value of thirty-four maravedís in Spain and in Spain's other American possessions,<sup>15</sup> but its exportation from the Spanish dominions was prohibited under penalty. All silver coined in the mint was required to have passed through the *casa de fundición* where the royal fifth was extracted. Acceptance of metal that had not complied with this regulation exposed the guilty official to the death penalty, while the owner was to be punished by the confiscation of his silver. The mere presentation of such illegal bullion subjected the owner to this penalty. Of the confiscated value, one-third was to be paid over to the informer while the balance was to be retained by the government.

The corruption of justice was made rather expensive by the provision that judges of the *audiencia* and all ordinary justices might take cognizance of all infractions of the laws of coinage by the officials of the mint, and hale the offenders before them, even though the *alcaldes* of that institution might have initiated proceedings. Officials of the mint were exempt from suit in civil cases, excepting those involving the rights of the crown. The *residencia* of these officers was to be conducted only by judges of *residencia* designated by the viceroy. No fixed salary list was established. Instead, the workers of the mint were to enjoy certain tax exemptions and were to receive a percentage of the total amount of metal coined. In the mints of Spain, one real for each marc of sil-

<sup>15</sup> Spanish money imported into Mexico had originally circulated at forty-four maravedís, but was soon assigned the same value as that of Mexican money (*vid. sup.* n. 4). Further legislation proved necessary, however, to prevent violations of the legal rate. The *cabildo* was obliged to impose penalties on persons who sought to profit in money transactions incident to debt settlements. (*Actas de cabildo del ayuntamiento de Mexico*, ed. Manuel Orozco y Berra with continuations, Mexico, 1859, libro 4, 26, July 7, 1536). Further ordinances regulating the relative values of coarse gold and the new silver coinage were issued by Mendoza, July 15, 1536 (*Documentos de Ultramar* X. 332-334; Puga, *Cedulario*, I. 388-389). These establish the same ratios of thirty-four maravedís to the real and eight reales to the *peso*. Apparently, Mexican coins did circulate abundantly in Spain; *cf.* Riva Palacio, *op. cit.*, II. 246, n. 1.

ver minted was divided among the staff of the mint. In Mexico, this amount was to be increased to three reales, in view of the greater cost of living.<sup>16</sup> Similarly, it was provided that the compensation for the minting of copper money should be three times that allowed in the domestic mints. Such was the royal confidence in Mendoza that all the details of copper coinage were entrusted to him

. . . as a person who himself has experience in this matter, having been our treasurer of the mint of Granada.

Mendoza was also entrusted with the task of locating suitable quarters for the mint, but with the suggestion that it be housed in either the casa de fundición or the palace of the audiencia.<sup>17</sup> Finally, the viceroy was empowered to appoint officials for the various services, together with the royally appointed treasurer of the mint, the Conde de Osorno.

In pursuance of these instructions it appears that the mint was established and proceeded with the coining of money. All the authorities on the subject give early 1537 as the probable date of the issue of the first American money. Conclusive documentary evidence exists, which indicates that this date is erroneous and establishes with certainty the time of issue as prior to July, 1536. Viceregal legislation of that

<sup>16</sup> *Vid. inf.*, n. 45 and text.

<sup>17</sup> *Vid. inf.*, n. 31 and text.

<sup>18</sup> *Documentos de Ultramar*; Puga, *Cedulario*, loc. cit. sup. n. 15. These ordinances, July 15, 1536, regulate the relative values of coarse gold (*oro de Tepusque*) and the new silver coinage. From the wording of the document it is evident that the mint was already in operation at the time of its writing: " . . . antes que huviesse casa de moneda, los reales de plata que en essa tierra avia corrian y pasaban por un tomin del dicho oro de Tepuzque, . . . " and, " . . . antes que huviesse casa de moneda en esta ciudad y se labrasse en ella la dicha moneda de plata, la contratacion que avia del dicho oro de Tepusque era mucha, . . . " A peso of the *oro de Tepusque* was to be worth eight reales of coined silver. The new exchange value was made to apply to all debts contracted since April 1, 1536. This would seem to imply that silver coinage was current in Mexico by April, 1536. The ordinance of the town council of Mexico City, July 7, 1536, affords further confirmation of this view. After a review of the exchange value of silver brought from Spain and *oro de Tepusque* it is

date<sup>18</sup> shows that the new coinage was already in circulation in sufficient quantities to give rise to problems of exchange and this despite the time consumed in early trial and error by the pioneer minters, whose first efforts were too imperfect to be released to the public.<sup>19</sup> As the viceroy did not arrive in Mexico City until mid-November of 1535, and in view of the preliminary task of locating the mint, selecting its working force, and designing the coin dies, it can be assumed that no money was minted in that year. It may, therefore, be concluded that the first actual coins were struck in the early months of 1536.

Almost immediately on its appearance the new money proved unsatisfactory in certain respects. The similarity of the two and three real pieces made it impossible for the Indians and simple folk to distinguish between them. The viceroy, therefore, on his own authority suspended the coinage of three real pieces and substituted for them pieces of four, or *tostones*. In reporting this to the treasurer of the mint, the Conde de Osorno, who was at the time residing in Spain, Mendoza mentioned the existence of a popular demand for "pieces of eight" because they would be the exact equivalent of a *peso* of gold in New Spain. The crown, on being advised of Mendoza's action, by royal cédula of November 18, 1537, approved what he had done and empowered him to issue "pieces of eight" at his discretion.<sup>20</sup> Apparently, however, the need was filled, at least temporarily, by the four real pieces. In 1545, the inspection made of the mint revealed that no "pieces of eight" had been minted up to that time.<sup>21</sup>

In his famous letter of December 10, 1537, Mendoza restated, " . . . e lo mismo se la hecho despues que en esta dicha cibdad se haze la dicha moneda de reales, . . . "

<sup>18</sup> *Documentos inéditos*, II. 192.

<sup>19</sup> Riva Palacio, *op. cit.*, II. 245-246; Puga, *Cedulario*, I. 405; *Documentos de Ultramar*, X, 385-386.

<sup>21</sup> A. G. I., 48-2-20/2, Visitacion de la casa de moneda de la ciudad de Mexico, 1545.



ported to the king the results of nearly two years' experience in the organization and conduct of the mint. In the method of collecting the royal fifth an important change was recommended. The royal ordinance had provided that on pain of death only silver from which the royal fifth had been extracted should be brought into the mint.<sup>22</sup> Mendoza pointed out that this method of control afforded opportunity for fraud, inasmuch as illicit silver might be introduced at a later stage in the process with great ease and mixed with silver which had been properly controlled. He advised that the royal fifth be extracted at the mint itself. The proper collection of the royal dues was to be assured by a monthly report, rendered with payment, to a representative of the crown, by the vice-treasurer of the mint. Under such a procedure

there is no possibility of fraud, for its accomplishment would require a joint conspiracy by the officers of the mint. Furthermore, your Majesty will secure the alloying and minting of the money without prejudice to the rights either of the treasurer or of the officials of the mint.

The matter of appointing officials of the mint gave rise to an embarrassing situation for the viceroy. In accordance with his instructions, he had proceeded with the appointment of a staff of minters. After these officials had been functioning for some time, royal appointees arrived in Mexico bearing warrants for the same offices. Mendoza complained that this practice was unfair to his appointees who had served through the trying period of experimentation, only to find themselves displaced now that the routine had been established and the work was easier. Mendoza insisted particularly upon the retention of two of those whom he had selected from among the local applicants of proven efficiency.<sup>23</sup> After the courteous conclusion, "Your Majesty will do that which will serve him best", Mendoza requested relief from the

<sup>22</sup> *Id. sup.*, n. 9.

<sup>23</sup> *Loc. cit. sup.*, n. 19.

supervision of the mint. Spanish law and custom, cited by him, imposed this duty on two *regidores* and the *justicia* of the city in which the mint resided. The cabildo of Mexico City was therefore indicated as the proper repository for the duty of visitation and the king was asked to assume the responsibility of chartering the mint and appointing its minters. However, "Your Majesty will be advised that there is not room for as many appointments here as in the mints of Castile".<sup>24</sup>

Mendoza, in accordance with royal instructions, had assigned the pueblo of Xiquipilco in encomienda to the mint, for a period of two years. The tributes of this pueblo were to contribute to the support of the officials of the mint and its Indians to share in the work. This grant would expire in April of 1538. Since no extension of the grant had been issued by the crown and since this aid was still essential to the mint, Mendoza proposed that the vice-treasurer of the mint should continue to collect the revenues of the pueblo, holding them under responsibility to the royal treasury in case his Majesty saw fit to deny an extension of the grant.<sup>25</sup>

Mendoza had earlier expressed a fear that the natives of Mexico would counterfeit the new money. He now found these fears realized. Two or three weeks before the date of the letter two examples of counterfeited four real pieces had been brought to him. An inquiry among the silversmiths of Mexico City and its environs had proven fruitless. The propensity of the natives for counterfeiting was well known for it seemed that it had been their practice to counterfeit even the cocoa beans which coursed among them as money.<sup>26</sup> Examples of this falsified barter money, which defied detection, were forwarded with the letter as was a duly certified

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 193.

<sup>25</sup> This request had been anticipated by the king in the cédula of November 18, 1537 (*sup.* n. 20) which extended the period of service of these Indians for an additional two years.

<sup>26</sup> *Documentos inéditos*, II. 193-194; cf. Riva Palacio, *op. cit.*, II. 248.

list of Mendoza's appointments to the offices of the mint. Neither this list nor an earlier list, which Mendoza feared had been lost in transmission, have as yet come to light in the Archives of the Indies.

The queen had left the details of copper coinage to the discretion of the viceroy. Accordingly, Mendoza ordered, on June 28, 1542, that twelve thousand marcs of copper be coined in pieces of four and two maravedís, thirty-six of the former from each marc and twice as many of the latter. He further ordered that the two-maravedí pieces should bear on the obverse, a column with "*plus ultra*" and a crown, and on the reverse a castle and crown with the insignia of Mexico. The four-maravedí piece was to bear on the obverse a castle and a lion with a crowned "K" in the center and beneath it an "M" surmounted by an "O" to represent the name of Mexico,<sup>27</sup> and on the reverse, a castle, a crowned "I" and a lion. The inscription for the coins of both denominations was to be "*Carolus et Yoana hispaniarum et indiarum Rex*", or an abbreviation of it.<sup>28</sup> As the Indians did not look upon copper as a precious metal, the new copper coinage was not well received. It is related that they accepted the coins only when forced to do so under penalty of the lash and even then disposed of their day's accumulation of copper money by throwing it in the lakes. It is an error, however, to suppose that this stratagem succeeded in turning the viceroy aside from his project of putting copper money into circulation in Mexico,<sup>29</sup> for, in 1545 the mint was not only making four- and two-

<sup>27</sup> This superimposed "O" is not to be confused with the "O" which appears separately on some of the coins as the mark of the assayer.

<sup>28</sup> Manuscript quoted by Orozco y Berra, *op. cit.*, 28-29; *cf.* Riva Palacio, *op. cit.*, II. 247-248.

<sup>29</sup> This misconception seems to have its origin in Andrés Cavo, *Los tres siglos de Méjico* (Jalapa, 1870), which is followed by Riva Palacio (*loc. cit.*) and by *Catalogue of coins, tokens, and medals in the numismatic collection of the mint of the United States at Philadelphia, Pa.* (3rd. ed., Washington, 1914), p. 132. Orozco y Berra, *loc. cit.*, is correct in differing with Cavo's account. Near the close of Mendoza's period, October 9, 1549, the minting of small silver coins, including eighth real pieces, in quantity for the benefit of the natives was authorized by the crown (A. G. I. 87-6-2, *oficio y parte*).



maravedí pieces, but also a small quantity of one-maravedí coins.<sup>30</sup>

The exact location of the mint in Mexico City is still a matter of doubt. As we have already seen, the royal instructions called for its location in the casa de fundición or in the palace of the audiencia, provided suitable quarters could be found in either of those structures. An authority of 1554 states that the foundry for the stamping of silver was located adjacent to the *ayuntamiento* but the assumption, found in Riva Palacio, *México á través de los siglos*, that these offices were a part of the mint is not justified, since the casa de fundición, an older and separate institution, performed this duty for all silver mined in Mexico.<sup>31</sup> In the early eighteenth century the mint was certainly located in the palace of the viceroys.<sup>32</sup> The argument that there was no room for it in this building during the period of Mendoza, due to the shops of Cortés which occupied its ground floor, is not entirely conclusive. However, the correspondence of Mendoza with the king would seem to indicate that the government found itself cramped for space.<sup>33</sup> There is no evidence that a separate structure was provided for the mint, and in view of the royal instructions, it seems most probable that it was located in either the casa de fundición or the palace of the viceroys.

Unfortunately, a complete list of the earliest American minters is not available.<sup>34</sup> The first treasurer of the mint was the Conde de Osorno who came to America, probably in the entourage of the viceroy in 1535.<sup>35</sup> On his return to

<sup>30</sup> A. G. I., 48-2-20½, f. 16, Testigo de Juan de Manzanares, Mexico June 3, 1545.

<sup>31</sup> Arthur S. Aiton, "The First American mining code," in the *Michigan Law Review*, XXIII. 105-114.

<sup>32</sup> Luis Gonzáles Obregón, *México viejo* (Paris and Mexico, 1900) p. 578 (map) and p. 738 (key).

<sup>33</sup> *Documentos inéditos*, II. 200.

<sup>34</sup> *Vid. sup.* n. 14.

<sup>35</sup> A. G. I., 60-2-6, "El conde de osorno paso a la nueva españa el año de 535 pero no parece la cédula de la merced que se le hizo de tesorero de la cassa".

Spain, not later than 1537,<sup>36</sup> he appointed Alonso de Mérida as *teniente de tesorero*. He renounced his office in favor of his eldest son, Pedro Manrique, July 20, 1538.<sup>37</sup> At the time of the Sandoval inspection, in 1545, this son still appears as the occupant of the office, with the title of Conde de Osorno, although Alonzo de Mérida continued to discharge the duties of the office until, on his return to Spain, he, in turn, left in his stead Juan de Manzanares, as vice-treasurer.

Royal appointments to other offices of the mint were made as follows: *escribano*, Pedro Juárez de Carabajal, June 16, 1535; *tallador*, Ambrosio Gris, December 21, 1536; *ensayador* and *fundidor*, Pedro de la Membrilla, December 21, 1536; *alcalde*, licenciado Castañeda, 1543.<sup>38</sup>

Three of the viceroy's appointees are known, Francisco de Orduña, *veedor*,<sup>39</sup> Francisco de Rincón, *ensayador*, and Antón de Vides, *tallador*. It thus appears that Rincón was the first American assayer and Vides the first die-cutter. It was the crown's appointment of other officials to these and similar offices which prompted Mendoza's complaint to the king.<sup>40</sup> No coins bearing Rincón's initial appear to have survived in any of the collections.<sup>41</sup> The earliest coins surviving would therefore appear to be those bearing the letter "G", the initial of the Licentiate Gutierrez Velásquez, to whom the office belonged in 1545.<sup>42</sup>

In the course of his great general visitation of New Spain in 1545, Francisco Tello de Sandoval inspected the mint be-

<sup>36</sup> Puga, *Cedulario*, I. 405.

<sup>37</sup> A. G. I., 60-2-6, Royal *merced*, July 20, 1538. Osorno appears to have been president of the order of Santiago and a former president of the council of the Indies. The office was granted him as a reward for his meritorious services.

<sup>38</sup> A. G. I., 60-2-6.

<sup>39</sup> *Actas de cabildo*, lib. 4, p. 21.

<sup>40</sup> *Vid. sup.*, n. 23.

<sup>41</sup> Heiss, *op. cit.*, plate 27; Riva Palacio, *op. cit.*, II. 246.

<sup>42</sup> A. G. I., 48-2-20/2, Visitation de la casa de moneda de la ciudad de Mexico, May 29, 1545; *of. Heiss, op. cit.*, I. 151.

tween May 26 and July 15.<sup>43</sup> The testimony of all of its officials was taken, all of its operations were examined into, its books were audited, and its silver tested for conformity to legal standards of purity. The report of the inspection affords a fairly complete and hitherto unknown list of the workers of the mint at the time. In addition to those officers named above, there were serving in the mint: as *alcaldes*, Licentiate Castañeda, by royal appointment, and Licentiate Aleman by viceregal appointment; as *merino*, Hernando Alonso, by appointment of the *teniente de tesorero*; as assayer, Juan Gutierrez; as *tallador*, Francisco de Rincón; as *balanzario*, Juan de Cepeda; as *capataces*, Gerónimo de Tuesta, Alonso Ponce, Antón Sánchez, and Alonso Porte; as *acuñadores*, Francisco Hernández, Pedro Bezón, Gonzalo Pérez, and Miguel Congruenza; as *escribano*, Sánchez de la Fuente; as guards, Juan de la Santa Cruz, Diego de Madrid, and Cristóbal de Carriego. In addition, the mint employed some negro slaves as laborers.<sup>44</sup>

The visitor, Sandoval, arrived at the mint to start his inspection, on Wednesday May 26, 1545, accompanied by the town councilman Miguel López de Legazpi, later conqueror of the Philippines. He was met by the vice-treasurer, Juan de Manzanares, whose testimony was taken. Manzanares stated that the mint was coining silver reales in four, two, one, and one half denominations, but that during his four years at the mint, no three-real pieces had been coined. He then led the visitor into a room where money was being made

<sup>43</sup> For a description of the inspection see, Aiton, *op. cit.*, pp. 158-171; and Pérez Bustamante, *op. cit.*, chap. IX.

<sup>44</sup> The above is based on the papers of the *visitación*, *loc. cit. sup.*, n. 42. The names given are those of the persons actually exercising the duties of the offices. The offices appear to have been held in many cases by a sort of subinfeudation, thus for instance the *escribano*, Sánchez de la Fuente, did not actually hold the title to the office, but discharged its duties for the Bishop of Lugo who received two-thirds of the fees. Similarly Juan Gutiérrez served as assayer although the office belonged to Gutiérrez Velásquez or his son. Gutiérrez Velásquez had given a power of attorney (*poder*) to the *oidor*, Gómez de Santillán who had in turn renounced his rights in favor of Juan Gutiérrez.



under the direction of Gerónimo de Tuesta, who at the time was engaged in cutting bars of silver for the making of four-and-two-real pieces. Sandoval took a small bar to determine whether it conformed to the legal standard. He then passed through two other rooms in which the other *capataces* were working at similar tasks. In each he asked a few questions of the workers and took samples of silver for assay. In the course of this inspection the visitor's party had been augmented by Francisco Vásquez de Coronado, lately returned from his march to Kansas and again a member of the cabildo of Mexico City, Cristóbal de Spíndola, alguacil of the holy inquisition, and Diego de Ribera, a resident of the city. At the instance of the visitor, the fundidor and assayer of the casa de fundición, Esteban Franco, was called in, and, after being put under oath, was asked to reveal any fraud in the statements which had been made by the persons examined up to that point. He tested the weights used in weighing the silver and declared them to be just and accurate. He then assayed the silver which Sandoval had taken from the *capataces* and found it to have more silver than the law required. Juan Gutierrez, assayer of the mint, assumed responsibility for any fault found in the silver, and as no error was found the silver was returned. Then, "as it was late, after interviewing the workers", Sandoval departed.

Two days later the visitor returned to the mint. He first took the testimony of the *balanzario*, Juan de Cepeda, after which he inspected all the weights and scales. These were then examined and pronounced accurate, by Esteban Franco of the foundry. The visitor then instructed the vice-treasurer to have the two weights marked. Pending the execution of this order they were not to be used. Sandoval next ordered the box of dies to be brought in. A locked chest was produced, the key to which was in the custody of Juan de la Santa Cruz, guard of the mint. This contained all the dies except one for copper coins, which they were forbidden to use. Next to be examined was the treasure chest. The proper

officials, vice-treasurer, guard, assayer, and notary, were requested to show their keys and its three locks were opened. The box apparently contained current accounts which showed what sums were locked up at the close of each day's business. Some of these were extracted at random for inspection.

The following day, Sandoval visited the foundry of the mint and had the lists from the treasure chest checked by Esteban Franco. They were found to be in order. The same officer was then required to assay the coinage. This too was found to be of legal standard. Upon the order of the visitor, Juan de Manzanares then produced a list of the personnel of the mint with proof of the legality of each appointment. Report was also made of the fees received by these several employees. Instead of the three reales per marc of silver, authorized by the royal instructions, two were assigned to the workers as fees (*derechos*.) The division was made in the following manner. Of the total sixty-eight maravedís the teniente de tesorero received twenty-two, the ensayador one, the tallador five, the guards two, the escribano one, the balanzario one, the acuñadores eight, the capataces twenty-eight.<sup>45</sup>

June second was given over to the testimony of Juan de Santa Cruz. The following day, Juan de Manzanares, under formal oath, testified that the units of coinage issued by the mint since he took office were: in silver, pieces of four, two, one, one-half, and one-fourth reales, and in copper, pieces of four, two, and a small quantity of one maravedís. He also testified that, on order of the viceroy, issued eight months previously, the Indians of Michoacan brought copper to the

<sup>45</sup> In addition to these fees (*derechos*) it appears that there was a supplementary compensation termed *raciones*. The tallador, for example, received as his share of the raciones "something less than a blanca ( $4 \frac{4}{5}$  maravedís) per marc" the escribano a blanca per marc, the balanzario, "a little more than a blanca per marc", the capataces, four maravedís per marc, and the guards received a share, the amount of which is not specified. The judicial officials received no share in the derechos, instead the two alcaldes and the merino each received one hundred and seventeen maravedís in raciones for every thousand marcs minted.

mint to be coined and that money was coined therefrom. Asked if they made three-real pieces he said, "a long time ago but not now". June fifth, sixth, eighth, and ninth were given over to testimony, tending to support the view that pieces of three reales had not been minted since the days of the inception of the mint.

On June thirteenth, the visitor examined the money about to be distributed to the merchants of Mexico City and found it to consist of four, two, one, and one-half reales of silver. Specimens of this mintage were assayed by Esteban Franco and were found to be in accordance with the prescription of the royal ordinances. Sandoval took one coin of each denomination and gave them into the care of Miguel López de Legazpi for future reference. On June twentieth, Pedro de Salcedo, veedor of the weights and measures, of the City of Mexico, tested the weights and measures of the mint by the standard weights and measures deposited in his custody, and found them to be accurate. Two days later, Gabriel de Balmaceda, a prominent merchant of Mexico City, was called before the visitor and required to produce moneys, drawn some time back from the mint, for assay. On July fifteenth, Sandoval brought his visitation of the mint to its conclusion. The assayer was again obliged to weigh the coins, which were found to be one grain in excess of the legal weight. He then returned all property of the mint and its officials sequestered in the course of the visitation.

The papers of this inspection throw light on a number of vexing problems. The date of the minting of the first "pieces of eight" has never been established. It appears to be the accepted view that the coinage of dollars actually began soon after their authorization by the royal *cédula* of November 18, 1537.<sup>46</sup> The testimony of the inspection, however, which enum-

<sup>46</sup> Orozco y Berra, *op. cit.*, p. 28; Riva Palacio, *op. cit.*, II. 247; Haring, *op. cit.*, p. 435, n. 1; *Catalogue*, U. S. Mint, *loc. cit.* Adolfo Herrera (*op. cit.*, I. 12, 13) states that Mendoza's report of a demand for the coin and this *cédula* are the first official documents which mention it but that neither he nor the authors cited by him have seen examples of the "piece of eight" at this early date. He further points out that "Los primeros reales de a ocho que conocemos, acuñados en América, son del reinado de Felipe II. . . ."



erates all the coins which had been or were being struck in 1545, proves from its silence concerning the "piece of eight" that it had not been minted up to that time. As the great collections contain no examples of the dollar earlier than the reign of Philip II., there is no reason to assume that such coins were struck during the reign of Charles V. These papers also serve to confirm the opinion of Orozco y Berra that the coinage of copper continued after 1542 and at least until 1551.<sup>47</sup> The inspection also affords some assistance toward the dating of early coins, through its establishment of a complete list of minters for the year 1545, and of, at least, a partial list for the earlier years.

In the light of the foregoing, certain new conclusions seem to be justified. Contrary to the generally accepted opinion, the coining of money in Mexico began in 1536 rather than in 1537. The dollar was not coined before 1545, and probably not before the reign of Philip II. Copper money continued to be coined throughout the period of Mendoza, and the attempt to force the Indians to accept it was not abandoned in that period.

The first decade of Mendoza's presence in Mexico had witnessed the establishment of a mint and the coining of money in sufficient quantities to meet the local needs,<sup>48</sup> save in the matter of small change, which problem he left to his successor. The great expansion of Mexican coinage and particularly the establishment of the dollar as the standard coin of the new world and of oriental trade were yet to come. Nevertheless, Mendoza brought into being the fundamental monetary system, the units of coinage, and their relations to gold values which have persisted into the present.

ARTHUR S. AITON,  
BENJAMIN W. WHEELER.

University of Michigan.

<sup>47</sup> Orozco y Berra, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

<sup>48</sup> In the period of Mendoza there were coined, according to one estimate, twenty-two million six hundred thousand pesos of silver; Orozco y Berra, *op. cit.*, II. p. 122; *of. Riva Palacio, op. cit.*, II. 686.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Anza's California Expeditions.* By HERBERT EUGENE BOLTON. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1930. Five vols. \$25.00.)

The reader who gives these volumes even a cursory examination will realize that he is handling the work of a master editor who, at least in this instance, has not been handicapped by lack of funds. They are printed on excellent paper and in large type; they contain six excellent maps and numerous pertinent photographs; and the bindings are not only substantial but attractive.

The work is concerned with the founding of Spanish California and consists of thirteen diaries, one journal, and an entire volume of official correspondence—all of which have been translated into the English language. Not least in importance, and most useful as parallel reading for undergraduate courses in the history of Spanish America, is the first volume, which contains a striking introduction and the editor's own narrative of the events described in the documents—probably the best account ever written on the subject.

Concerning the work as a whole there is little need for detailed comment. An able scholar and an experienced editor has rendered a great and enduring service to historians, geographers, ethnologists, and all who are interested in missionary enterprise. He has presented both in narrative and in documentary form a story which is filled with the romance of high human achievement. His own work as an editor also has a touch of the same romance, for he too has romantically followed the trails of the conquistadores and colonizers and romantically searched for the records. The photographs alone are of inestimable value, giving a vividness to the English edition which the original diaries, journal, and correspondence hardly possess.

The reader who turns these pages will experience a growing enthusiasm. He will admire both the founders of California and the scholar who has presented the records in so superb a manner, and he will put aside these volumes with a new inspiration derived from a realization of the wealth of materials available to the industrious student who interests himself in the achievements of the two nations

who gave America to the world. If the historians of Hispanic America had fifty works of this type they would then be in a position to understand the labors of the Spaniards and the Portuguese in the western hemisphere. These five volumes alone are sufficient to give the editor a high rank among historians.

J. FRED RIPPY.

Duke University.

*The Life of Stephen F. Austin, Founder of Texas, 1793-1836. A Chapter in the Westward Movement of the Anglo-American People.* By EUGENE C. BARKER. (Nashville and Dallas: Cokesbury Press, 1925. Pp. 551.)

*Mexico and Texas, 1821-1835. University of Texas Research Lectures on the Causes of the Texas Revolution.* By EUGENE C. BARKER. (Dallas: P. L. Turner Co., 1928. Pp. 167.)

The two books lie very close together in subject matter and chronology, the second covering indeed a period lying within the span of the first. One might at first glance say that they differ moreover from each other as a biography must from a set of lectures on international relations. But there is so much of each in the other that this differentiation is perhaps no more significant than is the method of treatment employed by the author. The biography is of necessity more detailed, more factual, less interpretative than the lectures. Both works came as the logical result of the author's years of research in the southwestern history of the period, a long experience in collecting and sifting many thousands of pages of manuscripts and documents. The most important and comprehensive collection of these is *The Austin Papers* [American Historical Association Report, 1919, Washington, 1924-1928.] Besides these, use has been made of the pertinent parts of the Bexar and the Nacogdoches Archives, valuable copies from various departments of the Mexican government, the archives of the state of Coahuila, the Lamar Papers, those in the Texas General Land Office, and the Austin letters in the Rosenberg Library at Galveston. Recourse was also had to Garrison's *The Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas* (Washington, 1908, 1911, two volumes), and to other printed and unprinted official sources. Other printed materials are listed by the author in a critical bibliography (pp. 525-534).



*The Life of Stephen F. Austin* begins with the generous assertion that without him "there is no reason to believe that Texas would differ today from the Mexican states south of the Rio Grande" (p. 521). This opinion rests upon the fact that American filibustering from Burr to Long had failed to open Texas to American settlement by force; that not even an independent Mexico, relieving the old exclusiveness of Spain, would have yielded to anything but Austin's pressure upon Iturbide for a law of colonization. Thus there would have been no Austin contract, no conviction by Mexico that American colonists could be loyal to Mexico, hence no settlement, revolution, annexation, or Mexican War. Such a chain of causal relationships the historian is not often happy enough to have outlined for him; we even have those who aver that in historical evolution the causal nexus is neither necessary, present, nor obvious; and it must be fairly admitted that the author is pretty well buttressed by his diligent research and his philosophic reaction. He knows his Texas, his Austin, and his north Mexican states. But he has paid little attention in the biography to an element to which he accredits greater potentiality in *Mexico and Texas*, and that is the expansive force of the American people. It is scarcely believable that the race which contemporaneously braved the wilderness and the savages of the plains, the fury of the mountain passes, and the tenacious competition of Great Britain to win a far away Oregon, would have stopped its march at the Sabine River, so close to New Orleans and the rapidly filling Mississippi Basin, all for lack of one man. This is especially true in view of dissatisfaction with the federal land system after 1820, when the roads were crowded west (p. 91.)

The economics, let alone the racial biology, and the topography and hydrography of the general situation are against the assertion. The Mexicans were never able to send northward great successful streams of settlers into non-mineral lands, they multiplied slowly, and still do, in spite of high birth rates.

But enough of this "form of prophecy which seeks to determine what the past might have been with some of its elements changed." What did happen is that the son took up the dream of the father and brought a great new American commonwealth into existence on adjacent alien soil. It is a pleasure to learn that this notable transformation of an unpeopled wilderness into the largest American state was begun by the son of a man who held dear the cultural values of his

civilization. Moses Austin's family began its American experiences at the close of the great migration of the puritans; Stephen was a Virginian born, with a pioneer childhood in Missouri and an education under the famous preceptor, John Adams. Hence it is not strange that the boy

developed ease of manner and social grace, with some appreciation of music and a liking for dancing; mastered a fluent and vigorous literary style; and grew into a man of liberal mind, unimpeachable integrity, and "correct moral principles" untouched by bigotry (p. 20).

Such was the man who inherited his father's ambition but not his weaknesses, who assumed the mission of a great enterprise even before the spirit had fled the father's pneumonia-wracked body, and who succeeded in convincing the hesitant Mexicans that a colonial enterprise of bringing American Catholics into Texas would serve to erect a bulwark against the impending American invasion. This is the man who said:

I bid an everlasting farewell to my native country, and adopted this, and in so doing I determined to fulfill rigidly all the duties and obligations of a Mexican citizen (p. 77).

The story of Austin's troubles in getting his grants, in caring for his colonists and providing them with land titles, his adhesion to his adopted country through the troubled days of the Fredonian rebellion, and his tactful efforts to prevent unduly severe punishment of the insurgents, show him as a well qualified leader of colonization. He envisaged this task as that of a farmer engaged in setting up his establishment in a virgin forest involving three steps: first, that of clearing the forest; second, providing for growth in wealth, morality, and happiness; third, giving direction to public opinion and character to society. He took his leadership seriously, and subjected himself to the unrelenting toil of his task, a growing success marking his efforts from 1825 to 1831. About the latter date, his conservatism was forced into compromises with the newly forming radical group which was to stand finally for an independent Texas. This hope he maintained until 1832 (p. 267), but toward the end of 1834 he "became convinced that the transfer of Texas to the United States within two years was probable" (p. 458) in view of the weakness of Mexico's federal government and the continual irregularity of its political system. It was Mexico's own incapacity to stabilize itself that lost it a great province.

After a life of great responsibility and labor, with scanty compensation and little comfort,

he died on a pallet on the floor of a two-room clapboard shack, a month and twenty-four days past his forty-third birthday.

Professor Barker's style is incisive, with little eulogy for his unheroic hero. There is throughout the work no effort to assimilate the recent fad of psychoanalysis in this biography. Possibly this is because the psyche of the author, in some respects very much like that of his subject, has been too busy to have time for analysis; or it may be even because he realizes that the more subjective historical writing is, the more impoverished it becomes—sales profits to the contrary notwithstanding.

As one turns to *Mexico and the United States* one finds Austin here still playing his leading rôle, but there is naturally less detention upon detail, and insistence upon personality—in short, the interpretative element predominates. From the reading of the two books a student of American history will obtain several impressive results: among these will be a clear and dispassionate thread of Texan history pretty well joined up with both that of Mexico and that of the United States; many passages on the slavery problem, the land system, local and national government, etc., might well be lifted out of their immediate setting and made part of a survey of the institutional life of Mexico or of other Spanish American countries; for the student of historical composition—either in the form of biography or lecture—there are good lessons in clearness of style, attention to detail without loitering, moderation in judgment, and accuracy and faithfulness in the use of authorities. For the student of the destinies of the various parts of the continent there is the conviction that the course of political events in this southwest has followed a course dictated by the concomitant forces of racial mistrust, topography, climate, the Anglo-Saxon land hunger, hurled upon the static society of Mexico in its years of ill-founded independence; it was, in short, what may, for lack of a more inclusive word, be called a matter of biological necessity.

HERBERT INGRAM PRIESTLEY.

University of California,  
Berkeley.



*Historia Geral das Bandeiras Paulistas*. Tomo Sexto. By AFFONSO DE E. TAUNAY. (São Paulo: Heitor L. Canton, 1930, Pp. vi, 372).

Dr. Affonso Taunay, the erudite director of the Museu Paulista and the foremost living historian of São Paulo, has placed students of Hispanic American history further in his debt by the publication of the sixth volume of his monumental history of the expansion of the Paulistas into western and northern Brazil. This volume, like its predecessors, not only is based on the wealth of material in the *Arquivo do Estado* of São Paulo, but also represents lengthy research in the *Arquivo de Marinha e Ultramar* of Lisbon and *Arquivo General de Indias* of Seville. The importance of the *bandeirantes*—those intrepid sixteenth and seventeenth century pioneers who starting from São Paulo penetrated into the remote fastnesses of Brazil—has long been recognized. But only since the publication of Dr. Taunay's works has the magnitude of their achievements been fully revealed.

The volume here noted contains accounts of the *bandeiras* or expeditions into southern Matto Grosso, the bootless journey of Fernão Dias Paes into the wilds of Minas Geraes in search of emeralds, the activities of the *bandeiras* in northeastern Brazil, especially in the present state of Piauhy, the conquest of the savage Indian tribes of the Tapuyas and Botocudos, and above all the destruction of the famous "Quilombo dos Palmares", one of the most noted episodes in the colonial history of Brazil. Palmares was the name given to an agglomeration of towns and villages inhabited by some twenty thousand runaway slaves who had escaped from their masters during the confusion of the Dutch invasion. The settlements extended northward from the São Francisco River in the vast palm forests paralleling the coast. The negroes worked out a primitive system of government consisting of a loose confederation to which the name of "republic" has sometimes been applied. After the withdrawal of the Dutch their "quilombos" or fortified posts became so numerous and powerful that the Portuguese hold on the captaincy of Pernambuco was seriously threatened. Only after a half century of intermittent warfare were the last of the quilombos destroyed in 1703.

Dr. Taunay deserves to be better known to specialists in things Hispanic than is the case at present. He has to his credit nearly fifty books and monographs, of which two-thirds deal with the history of Brazil and São Paulo and the remainder with literary and linguis-

tic topics. He has also edited a number of Brazilian historical classics, such as Pedro Taques, *Nobiliarchia Paulistana* and has published many volumes of documents dealing with the history of São Paulo. He is the son of Visconde de Taunay, one of the outstanding writers of the empire, and great-grandson of Nicolas A. Taunay, a distinguished French genre and landscape painter who was invited to Brazil by John VI. in 1816. Visconde de Taunay is perhaps best known for his works *A Retirada da Laguna* (a celebrated episode in the Paraguayan War) and above all for his novel *Innocencia* which has been translated into many foreign languages including the Japanese.

PERCY ALVIN MARTIN.

Stanford University.

*Páginas de História*, 2d ed. By MAX FLEIUSS. (Rio de Janeiro, Imprensa Nacional, 1930).

Rio de Janeiro, the romantically beautiful capital of Brazil, has much to offer both tourist and student. And the latter, if history be his quest, will quickly discover his Mecca to be the fine old colonial building which houses the famous Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, the oldest existing historical society in South America, for its origin goes back almost a century, to 1838. Here he will find many things of compelling interest—the hall of sessions with the great chair in which Dom Pedro presided for so many years, the excellent library, the priceless archives, the museum with its wealth of historical mementoes. But when memories are blurred by passing years the most abiding impression will be the kindly courtesy and unflagging helpfulness of the perpetual secretary of the Institute, the erudite historian, Dr. Max Fleiuss. During the past quarter century Dr. Fleiuss has found time not only to act as the tutelary guardian of this venerable body but also to write on a hundred and one topics dealing with the history of Brazil. Many of his articles are to be found in the quarterly *Revista* and other publications issued by the Institute; others, more fugitive perhaps, but still of great interest, have appeared in the daily press. With the laudable purpose of making this material more accessible, Dr. Fleiuss published a number of his articles in 1924 under the title of *Páginas de História*. The book under review is the second edition of this work; its size has been nearly doubled until it consists of a bulky volume of over nine hundred pages.

Naturally the contents vary both in character and importance. Certain sections are veritable books in themselves. Among the most noteworthy are those written on the occasion of the centenary of Brazilian independence in 1922 when a great historical congress was held in Rio de Janeiro. For special mention may be singled out such topics as "Cem annos de independencia", "Corôação de D. Pedro I", "A paladina da Independencia" (the empress, Leopoldina, wife of Dom Pedro I.). There is an interesting chapter on the writer's father, Enrique Fleiuss, an artist of parts and perhaps the most famous caricaturist produced by Brazil. The book reproduces a number of the most striking caricatures dealing with the reign of Dom Pedro II. To the reviewer one of the most valuable sections is that devoted to Francisco Adolpho de Varnhagen, described by Oliveira Lima as the "founder of Brazil's national history". The appraisal of Varnhagen's place in Brazilian historiography is followed by a critical bibliography of his works. Of equal interest is the essay on the Historical Institute itself. Here the author, drawing in many instances on his vast fund of personal knowledge, writes not only with authority but *con amore*. The profound influence which the Institute during its existence of almost a century has exerted both on the writing of history and on the intellectual and spiritual life of the nation is clearly set forth. The roster of its membership would probably include a majority of the outstanding figures of the past one hundred years. Dr. Fleiuss may with justice declare that the Institute is the "living record of the history of Brazil and for the Brazilian people the *nosce te ipsum* of their national tradition" (p. 503). For those initiated into Brazilian history the book of Dr. Fleiuss will prove a quarry into which they may delve with profit; to those who do not have access to the publications of the Institute the work is all but indispensable.

PERCY ALVIN MARTIN.

Stanford University.

*Cartas del Libertador*. By VICENTE LECUNA. (Caracas: Lit. y Tip. del Comercio, 1929-1930. 10 volumes.)

Many important historical works have come out of Venezuela, but without doubt the collection under review is one of the most valuable that has appeared in recent years. Moreover, it has come at a very auspicious time since it was published shortly before the cen-



tenary of the Liberator's death. In November, 1928, President Gómez commissioned Señor Lecuna to undertake the task of compiling and editing the widely scattered letters of the great patriot, and for nearly two years no effort was spared to make the collection complete. The choice of the editor was an exceptionally excellent one, for he is widely known for his monographs on the military phases of Bolívar's life, for his private collection of Bolívar letters, and for his editing of the *Papeles de Bolívar* and a series of documents concerning the creation of Bolivia.

In 1830, when Bolívar, preparing to retire, resigned his command, he planned to go to Europe and take his papers, contained in ten trunks, with him. But finding himself unable to make the journey because of ill health, he indicated in his will that upon his death the papers should be burned. Happily, however, his executors did not comply with this request, and when one of them, Juan de Francisco Martín, together with General Daniel Florencio O'Leary, were expelled from the country they carried to Jamaica with them the ten trunks of documents. Ultimately, many of the letters of Bolívar contained in this collection, along with others received by O'Leary while in exile, were included in the *Memorias de General O'Leary* edited by his son and published by the Venezuelan government (1878-1883) in twenty-nine volumes consisting of three volumes of narrative and twenty-six volumes of documents. For many years this work was considered the chief source for the history of Bolívar.

The first documentary work on the life of Bolívar, however, was published in Caracas (1826-1833) in twenty-two volumes under the editorship of Francisco Xavier Yañes and Cristóbal Mendoza, and was entitled *Documentos relativos a la vida pública del Libertador de Colombia y del Peru, Simón Bolívar*. These volumes contained a number of his letters. Another work was that begun by the soldier-priest, José Félix Blanco, and continued through fourteen volumes (Caracas 1875-1877) by Ramón Azpurúa under the title *Documentos para la historia de la vida pública del Libertador de Colombia, Peru, y Bolivia*. In this work, published at the expense of the Venezuelan government, were many letters of Bolívar including those written to Sucre during the Peruvian campaign and certain letters to Bartolomé Salom from 1822. Also before the *Memorias* of O'Leary appeared, two other men collected Bolívar letters. In 1865-1866 the writer and musician, Felipe Larrazábal, published in New York his *Vida y correspondencia*

*del Libertador, Simón Bolívar*, in two volumes which contained a few letters, but unhappily both the author and several original Bolívar letters and documents were lost in a shipwreck. A second collector, Arístides Rojas, assembled a number of letters written by Bolívar to María Antonia Bolívar and to General Páez, many of which remained unpublished until they appeared in the present work.

After the appearance of the O'Leary collection, other individuals essayed the task of publishing documents emanating from Bolívar. In 1887-1888 three volumes of Bolívar letters (*Correspondencia del Libertador*) were published under the editorship of Andrés A. Level. This was somewhat in the nature of a supplement to the *Memorias* and contained a number of letters previously published by Blanco and Azpurúa. In his work were many errors, and letters from October, 1829, to December, 1830, did not appear. The Colombian, Juan Bautista Pérez y Soto, a little later began to assemble Bolívar letters from all parts of America, many of which had been unknown, but his death in 1926 cut short his labors although his collection was acquired by the Venezuelan government. In 1913, Blanco Fombono published in Paris a volume of Bolívar letters covering the period from 1799 to 1822. This was followed in 1921 in Madrid by a second volume covering the period from 1823 to 1825, in which were published a number of letters not hitherto known. From 1913 to 1926 a commission of the Academia de la Historia of Bogotá, under the direction of Restrepo Tirado, edited the archives of Santander in twenty-two volumes which contain the correspondence of Bolívar and Santander, some of which had never been published before. In the same period Christian Witzke, the director of the Museo Boliviano in Caracas, printed in the *Gaceta de los Museos Nacionales* (1912-1914) a number of important letters of Bolívar. Several of these likewise had not previously appeared. In the same period, too, Alberto Smith, the Venezuelan minister at Lima, obtained from the Argentine minister, Carlos T. de Alvear, a collection of letters, some original, which passed between Bolívar, Sucre, and Santa Cruz. These were printed in number 20 of the *Boletín de la Academia de la Historia* and in the *Papeles de Bolívar* of Lecuna, the first volume of which was published in 1917. This work of fifteen volumes contained documents pertaining to the life of Bolívar and two hundred Bolívar letters which had been obtained from original owners, from periodicals, and from copies. A number of these letters bore neither date

nor address and for that reason had not been previously published. In 1921, when the archives of General Salom were assembled, they were found to contain seventy Bolívar letters some of which had not been previously printed. In 1928, the Spanish Ambassador in Paris, José María Quiñones de León, presented to the Venezuelan government the papers of Bolívar which his progenitor, Juan de Francisco Martín, had not given to O'Leary at Jamaica. In this collection were copies of Bolívar's letters and orders which had hitherto been unpublished.

From the above mentioned sources, and from his own rich store of letters and copies, augmented by letters owned by other individuals, Señor Lecuna has assembled 2,157 letters of Bolívar, more than eight hundred of which have been copied from the originals. Volume I. contains the letters written through the year 1817. There is one letter for the year 1799; one for 1800; three for 1801; none for 1802; one for 1803; two for 1804; none for 1805; one for 1806; five for 1807; one for 1808; one for 1809; one for 1810; none for 1811; eleven for 1812; thirty for 1813; fourteen for 1814; thirty-seven for 1815; thirty for 1816; and fifty-four for 1817. Volume II. contains the letters for the years 1818 to 1821; Volume III. the letters for 1822 and 1823; Volume IV. the letters for 1824 and for 1825 through May; Volume V. the letters from June, 1825, to June, 1826; volume VI., the letters from July, 1826, to July, 1827; volume VII., the letters from August, 1827, to July, 1828; volume VIII., the letters from August, 1828, to June, 1829; and volume IX., the letters from July, 1829, to December, 1830. In this volume also is an appendix containing twenty-three letters which were obtained too late for inclusion in their proper places, together with two pages of *rectificaciones* and two of *erratas*. Volume X. is devoted primarily to an analytical index of 392 pages, the work of Esther Barret de Nazaris. This represents a tremendous labor and has been on the whole so well done that it deserves to be considered as a model of form for other indexers. Any defects that exist, such as the omission of proper names and references to certain letters, may well be overlooked because of the immense value of the index as it stands. The remainder of volume X. is devoted to a supplement to the appendix of volume IX., an *adición* containing a previously omitted letter of January 13, 1802, an index to the supplement of the appendix, and an analytical index to the supplement. The supplement to the appendix con-



tains an article from *El Faro Militar* for June, 1845, in which are quoted three undated letters from Bolívar. Following this are twenty-seven letters from Bolívar covering the period from 1819 to 1830 which were not inserted in their proper places. Besides the general index each volume contains its own non-analytical index.

The work has been edited with great care and with an intelligent appreciation of its importance. In every case, space has been left where words cannot be made out, where they are missing, and where the paper is torn away. Missing dates and addresses have been supplied wherever possible, frequently after great and painstaking labor, and have been indicated in parentheses. Marginal notations in the original letters are given in footnotes, and frequently the editor has introduced at the end of letters certain requisite explanations. Some of these (volume I., p. 265 ff.) concern a number of apocryphal letters and falsified texts and are particularly interesting. In several instances, letters to Bolívar have been printed so that the reader may better understand his replies. The illustrations in the ten volumes number fifty-two and constitute a unique collection in themselves. Besides these, there are ten photographic reproductions of original Bolívar letters.

In reading this work one has the feeling that here is the Liberator's autobiography, for so much of the man himself appears. It is evident, however, that Bolívar was not above the average as a letter writer, and that his grammar, diction, and spelling were not faultless. One is more impressed by the quantity of his letters and the variety of the topics treated than by the style of his writing. Yet as one reads the letters one after the other one cannot help but admire this remarkable man for his depth of vision and his undoubted genius. Certainly, scholars owe a great debt to Señor Lecuna and the Venezuelan government for making available a work which should be most widely welcomed and extremely useful.

A. CURTUS WILGUS.

George Washington University.

*Colonial Records of Spanish Florida. Letters and Reports of Governors, Deliberations of the Council of the Indies, Royal Decrees, and other documents.* Volume II., 1577-1580. Translated and edited by Jeannette Thurber Connor. (DeLand: The Florida State Historical Society, 1930. Pp. xxxix, 382. \$15.00 to members of The Florida State Historical Society).

This volume, like several of its predecessors, is printed by the Yale University Press and is a work of typographical art. Already five volumes of the Society, chosen by the Society of Graphic Arts, have been listed among the fifty best books printed in America, and the high standards previously set have been maintained in this book.

In 1925, the first volume of a series of original documents pertaining to the early history of Florida, projected and compiled by Mrs. Connor, was published by the Society. Her sudden and untimely death, however, prevented the earlier completion of the work now under review, although she had translated and edited many documents for it and had suggested others to be included. The consummation of the work fell to Dr. James Alexander Robertson, the Executive Secretary of the Society, and in its final form the book constitutes a distinctly appropriate memorial to Mrs. Connor.

The fifty-one documents—(fifty-six, if the five in the appendix are counted)—here translated have been drawn for the most part from the Archivo General de Indias at Seville, although a few have come from the Library of Congress and the Buckingham Smith collection in the New York Historical Society. The first document is dated January 20, 1577, and the last was written after August 1580. While the period covered is thus only about three and one-half years, the material concerns events in Florida, Cuba, Mexico, and Spain, and deals with many of the difficulties of the young colony in the years following the death in 1574 of Pedro Menéndez de Áviles. From 1577 to 1580 Pedro Menéndez Márquez, the nephew of the great Menéndez, was in charge of the Florida colony as provisional governor and captain-general, and energetically instituted reforms and established defenses for the distressed country. As Dr. Robertson points out in his very excellent introduction, the documents show clearly the "desolation and misery existing in the colony", the danger from Indians, pirates, and French, the incompetent and corrupt officials, the hostility of Cuban authorities, the negligent and scant assistance received from the mother country, the uncomfortable existence led by

the inhabitants, the lack of economic prosperity, and the intelligence and ability with which the provisional governor attempted to cope with the situation.

Many men and a few women pass in review across the pages of these documents. Most of the former are officials who functioned more or less imperfectly, and who had axes to grind, complaints and claims to make, and quarrels to settle. Human passions, aspirations, and disappointments form the background of this colonial picture, which after all is largely typical of the conditions found in other outlying sections of the Spanish colonial dominions in the sixteenth century.

The two illustrations of the volume are interesting: the first is an excellent likeness of Mrs. Connor, and the second is a photographic copy of the original plan of the fort at Santa Elena which was found in the Archives of the Indies. The index is what the reviewer likes to call the "Robertson Type", carefully prepared, thorough, and most serviceable.

A. CURTIS WILGUS.

George Washington University.

*Yanquilandia bárbara, La Lucha contra el Imperialismo.* By ALBERTO GHIRALDO. (Madrid: 1929. Pp. 3, 9-214.)

It is high time for popular opinion in the United States to take an interest in the opinion of neighboring peoples. Begun partially by North American authors, the rebellion and the battle cries against Yankee Imperialism and dollar diplomacy are increasing from day to day. New books are appearing constantly, new "investigations", new pamphlets, new appeals. But the good "Yankee" who has invested his capital in South America is, and remains convinced, that he and his capital are welcome everywhere.

The above-mentioned work is a typical example of the anti-imperialistic literature that is appearing. The author claims that the people of North America are at present dominated "por ideas nefastas de imperialismo mezquino y humillante para su propia tradición de pureza republicana . . ."; he complains about "tiranía moderna capitalista", and presents to the reader a superficial and unsystematic compilation of the well-known book by Nearing and Freeman on dollar diplomacy (without mentioning the authors), provides the articles with screaming headlines, reprints old newspaper



articles and letters from Sandino, and concludes the whole with a table which he calls "Estadística del Crimen".

The book is typical of the modern state of mind, and would perhaps lend itself to an objective and scientific investigation of the so-called "Yankee Imperialism".

J. F. NORMANO.

Cambridge, Mass.

*Kunst und Kultur von Peru.* By MAX SCHMIDT. (Berlin: Propyläen-Verlag, 1930.)

Based on the splendid collection of old Peruvian art and civilization in the Museum für Völkerkunde at Berlin, Professor Schmidt has given an excellent picture of the old Peruvian culture in its different aspects as to time and space. He has well depicted the historical development of the Incas to which he has added as corroborative proof a survey of Peruvian archæology. In this he has utilized, among other things, the written documents of the early Spaniards—which are invaluable and necessary for any investigation relating to the culture of the former inhabitants of Peru. The results of his investigations show clearly that there must have been different cultures in old Peru and Ecuador. It is, however, difficult to obtain incontrovertible data relative to the several different periods. The author rejects as fantastic the theory of an old Asiatic immigration which has been based on a certain resemblance between Peruvian and Asiatic archæological remains. On the other hand, he believes in the possibility of certain interchanges between the Mayas and the Peruvians, although no actual communication or contact between the two peoples can be proven. The astronomical factor, he thinks, is still too hypothetical to fix with any certainty the time of the construction of monuments (including temples). He notes as distinct the cultures of Cuzco and its vicinity, the Tiahuanaco culture about the lake of Titicaca, the Chimu culture, and the cultures of Ica and Nasca.

In the principal part of his work, Professor Schmidt discusses certain aspects of civilization which have a direct relation to the people with regard to food, bodily treatment, clothing, dwellings, sports and amusements, and worship. In two chapters are discussed factors bearing on social and economic life, and the last chapter deals with the spiritual culture.

The book is enriched with over eight hundred illustrations partly in colors, furnished from materials in the rich Museum für Völkerkunde. Throughout, the technical appearance of the volume is excellent, but the work is marred by the complete absence of a bibliography.

HANS W. HARTMANN.

Zürich, Switzerland.

*Die Revolution von Saint Domingue.* By ERWIN RÜSCH. [Uebersetzung, Band 5.] (Hamburg: Friederichsen de Gruyter & Co., 1930. Pp. 210.)

It is very gratifying to note that a German publishing concern dares to undertake the risk of publishing books dealing with the history of countries overseas. The present reviewer has already discussed several such publications in the pages of this REVIEW. There is apparent a tendency for books of this nature to increase.

The present carefully written book is richly provided with documentary evidence, notwithstanding the fact that the author has not made any archival research for it. He has endeavored, and with considerable success, however, to search out and state clearly the origins of historical movements and to follow their development. Somewhat annoying to the German, Austrian, or Swiss reader, it must be confessed, is the author's frequent use of foreign words with no attempt to conform to uniformity.

The revolution of Santo Domingo has been discussed by various other authors. In the book under review, the author corrects certain erroneous statements of those who have written before him. He describes the whole movement as an independent evolution and gives a brilliant psychological analysis of Toussaint's character. The forces at work and their result attain new meanings under his coherent treatment.

Several chapters at the beginning of the work relative to the physical feature of the island, its history, its inhabitants, and the decline of government serve as a fitting introduction and as a means for orienting the reader in the part which follows. Political events are placed in their proper setting as a psychological revolution—for the thoughts and viewpoints of the Negroes assumed an entirely different aspect from their former attitude. It was a true revolution, for the move-

ment with all its contributing elements was in the nature of a cat-  
aclysm so far as previous conditions were concerned.

The formation of the new state of Haiti—a state composed of blacks—presupposes a new force, which was supplied by that powerful and restrained personality, Toussaint l'Ouverture. In vivid manner, the author describes his rise, his power, and the structure of the new state, explaining events and depicting in detail the struggles in which Haiti became involved. Indeed, that chapter in which the new state is discussed, has never before been treated in a manner so detailed and thorough. The description of Toussaint l'Ouverture and the analysis of his character leave little to be desired. His differences, with respect to the other Negroes of the country, are well brought out. At heart he was a stranger to his own race, and for that reason, not he, but Dessalines became the real national hero. He advocated Christianity but only because it required a strict obedience. His overweening self confidence, however, brought about his downfall and he was replaced by Dessalines, under whom final independence was achieved. The volume is concluded with a bibliographical list of the materials consulted by the author.

HANS W. HARTMANN.

Zürich, Switzerland.

*The Ayar-Incas.* By MILES POINDEXTER, LL.D. 2 vols. (New York: Horace Liveright, 1930. Pp. xvii, 274; xii, 359. Illus.; index. \$10.00.)

Mr. Poindexter, formerly a senator of the United States, and ambassador to Peru, saw his Peru at first hand. The first volume of his work discusses especially the monuments, culture, and American relationships; the second, Aryan Asiatic origins. Among his acknowledgements for aid is one to Bertram T. Lee, an American engineer for many years resident in Peru, who possessed or had access to many valuable Peruvian documents. The publishers advertise the author's work as the result of a five-years' residence in Peru.

The author states that his work is not a history of the Incas. Its comments "deal rather with origins and relations (some of them of course merely hypothetical),—and even as to these only in certain phases (I. xvi)". As such, then, he attempts to prove that the civilization of Peru—the pre-Inca and the Inca—was Aryan in its origin; and carrying the argument further, that the Maya, Toltec,

and Aztec cultures sprang from the same Aryan source. The culture of the Amerinds of the western hemisphere, Mr. Poindexter believes to be rather the decadent expression of an older caucasian culture arising from the intermingling of the white and dark bloods. He disarms or invites criticism by saying (I. xvii):

The view expressed here of the Ayar-Incas is not the conventional view. In fact in some respects it is even opposed to the conventional view and as such of course invites criticism. . . . The very title of this work itself, in the emphasis that it gives to the name of *Ayar*, suggests a new conception of the Incas.

The arguments educed by the author are quite opposed to that school which believes that cultures may appear independently at different foci and need not be transmitted from one race to another or from one continent to another. There is, accordingly, an opportunity for considerable controversy here. The volumes recall Leo Wiener's *Mayan and Mexican Origins* which argues for an immediately preceding African culture as the basis of American aboriginal culture, proceeding perhaps originally from Asia. Poindexter argues for an Asiatic origin transmitted directly from Asia and later vitiated by darker strains proceeding from Polynesian sources. At times it appears that he is trying to prove a preconceived theory. His general tenet is the superiority and power of initiative of the white races over the dark races. The culture of the pre-Incas was a white culture originating from white sources. Inca culture was the inheritance of this culture changed and weakened by the intermixture of the original white blood with dark strains. The author's theories and arguments will appear untenable and fantastic to many.

However, the work is of some little interest and merits reading, whether one believes the author's conclusions or not. To those who do not believe them, the work will stimulate by bringing their own beliefs to the surface. The portions treating of the results of the culture—the prehistoric structures, for instance, are interesting and of some moment. The origins suggested are not new with this work. The author is aware, this reviewer ventures to suggest, of the caution with which any linguistic argument must be advocated in a work of this nature. To many it will doubtless appear that the author was without that intensive background necessary for the production of a work of permanent value to scholars. It is probably true that his urge in writing it arose from personal interest alone.



The volumes are well illustrated with views of the old Peruvian monuments and other evidences of the early cultures. The maps, which are excellent, were made by the American Geographical Society. The books themselves on their mechanical side, are well printed and bound.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

*Catálogo de los Fondos cubanos del Archivo General de Indias.* Tomo I—Volumen I. *Consultas y Decretos, 1664-1783.* (Madrid: Compañía Americana de Publicaciones, S. A., [1929] Pp. 475, [3].)

*Catálogo de los Fondos americanos del Archivo de Protocolos de Sevilla.* Tomo I—Siglo XVI. (Con Apéndice documental). (Madrid, Barcelona, and Buenos Aires: Compañía Ibero-Americana de Publicaciones (S. A.), [1930]. Pp. 561. Index. Paper covers.)

These two volumes, among the first fruits of the Instituto Cubano, whose headquarters are in Seville, are an excellent forecast of what may be expected in future volumes from the same source. The first was edited by José María de la Peña Cámara, of the Cuerpo de Archiveros, Bibliotecarios y Arqueólogos of the Instituto, of which he is also a technical collaborator. It is Tomo VII. of the "Colección de Documentos inéditos para la Historia de Hispano-América", which is being published under the auspices of the Instituto. In it are listed the documents noted in the first volume of a two-volume manuscript inventory of documents existing in legajo No. 1,128 of the Audiencia de Santo Domingo (old classification, 79-4-8), entitled "Havana y Cuba Ynventario de todas las Consultas y Decretos originales del citado Negociado que se hallan en esta Secretaria del Supremo Consejo y Camaras de Indias, por lo tocante a las Provincias de la Nueva España—En el que por Orden de sus Fechas se señala el Numero de los que comprende cada Año y sus Asuntos. Con un Yndice alfabético, para que con Facilidad se puedan hallar siempre que sea necesario. Formado por Martin Osorio, Oficial Archivero de la misma Secretaria". The volume cites over 1200 items, some few of which refer to Florida and Louisiana and others to New Spain and other districts. The documents listed in the inventory are in legajos, Nos. 324, 325, and 326 of the Audiencia de Santo Domingo (old classification, 55-1-31, 55-1-32, 55-1-33), and Nos. 1129-1140 (old classification,

79-4-14 to 25). Of the 1163 consultas listed, 1135 were identified. A few, which were not listed in the inventory and which were found while identifying those listed were also listed in the volume (Nos. 1164-1210). The editor has corrected the errors of the inventory and made other editorial emendations. In the appendix are added a list of the governors of Havana and of the bishops of Santiago de Cuba.

The second volume is Tomo VIII. in the above named "Colección". The compilation is fundamentally the work of José Hernández, who was assisted by Sres. Muro, Peña, and Tamayo y Jiménez-Placer, all technical collaborators of the Instituto. The introduction is by Dr. José María Ots Capdequi, professor in the University of Seville and technical director of the Institute. In this Dr. Ots Capdequi points out the importance of notarial archives, especially because they reflect the development of the social life of a country. These documents supplement those of the Archivo General de Indias. The director says (p. 6):

These old documents represent, moreover, a source of the highest importance for the study of our commercial relations with those territories, and at the same time serve to clear up obscure points relative to persons who achieved great historical importance in the work of the conquest and of the exploration of America.

Until recently it has been impossible, for investigators to have access to this rich store of documents and investigation is very difficult because of the lack of catalogues. The Archivo de Protocolos of Seville was the first archives of this category to open its doors to investigators. In compiling the volume, it was necessary to scan each document in order to determine whether it should be listed in the compilation. The 1867 documents listed have been placed in chronological order, and a brief calendar given for each one. The first document listed is dated 1493 and the last 1577. The appendix presents twenty documents for the period 1500-1517, which consist of agreements, etc., with Rodrigo de Bastides for discovery in the Indies, authority granted by Vespucci to Andres de San Martín, obligations of Diego Colón and Juan Antonio Colombo to pay a certain loan, and other documents relating to Diego Colón and others, documents relating to Christopher Columbus, and other highly important materials. The entire volume is of great moment and offers much new material for students of the early history of the Americas. In fact, the importance of the volume can scarcely be overestimated.

In both volumes the calendaring has been done with care and acumen. Both are welcome contributions to the investigator and will save him many a weary hour in his researches. They form a good complement to the Guides issued by the Carnegie Institution of Washington, under the direction of Dr. J. Franklin Jameson.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

## NOTES AND COMMENT

### THE THIRD HISPANIC-AMERICAN CONGRESS OF GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY

The Third Hispanic-American Congress of Geography and History met in Seville, on May 2 to 8, 1930, under the auspices of the Spanish Government and the Royal Academy of History of Spain. The Duke of Alba, minister of state and president of the Academy, was president of the congress and attended the opening session. This session was presided over by King Alfonso XIII. in person, who declared the congress opened. The active presidency of the congress was exercised first by Sr. Angel Altolaguirre, member of the Academy, and later by Professor Rafael Altamira, member of the Hague Tribunal and professor of law in the University of Madrid.

About one hundred and seventy-five persons registered, a large percentage being Spaniards, some representing organizations and others being individual members of the congress. The countries having official representatives were the United States, Argentina, Chile, Ecuador, Panama, Peru and Uruguay. At the closing session Cuba and Colombia adhered to the congress. The American delegation, which was the largest single foreign group, consisted of Miss Irene A. Wright, official representative of the United States; Charles Upson Clark, the Smithsonian Institution; Roscoe R. Hill, the Library of Congress; A. B. Thomas, the University of Oklahoma; John Van Horne, the University of Illinois; Ralph Graves, the National Geographic Society; Mrs. Anna Schoellkopf, the American Embassy, Madrid; Miss Alice B. Gould, Boston; and Miss Dorothy I. Hill, Chicago.

The sessions of the congress were held in the pavilion of the Plaza de España of the Ibero-American Exposition, the sumptuous palace designed by the much lamented Sevillian architect Sr. Aníbal González. The opening and closing sessions were held in the beautiful general assembly hall and the sectional meetings in other rooms of the pavilion, which unfortunately left much to be desired from an acoustic standpoint.



At the opening session on May 2 under the presidency of the king, Sr. Vicente Castañeda, secretary of the Academy of History, read a preliminary statement regarding the congress. This was followed by brief addresses by the official representative of the United States, Miss Wright, and that of Panama, Sr. Melchor Lasso de la Vega, minister of Panama in Spain, on behalf of the Hispanic American countries. Miss Wright sketched the exploits of Spanish discovery, especially in relation to the United States, and praised the labor of civilization accomplished by Spain in taking to America its language, arts, religion, and blood. She set forth the reasons why the United States can consider Spain a second mother country and expressed the satisfaction of the American delegates in being able to join with the Hispanic-Americans in meeting on the soil of the common mother country. Sr. Lasso de la Vega expressed the hope that the results of the congress would tend toward a fraternal fusion of the Hispanic-American countries, united in the profound affection for the mother country.

This session was concluded by the official address by the Duke of Alba, who began with observations on the cultural efforts of the Hispanic races. He then briefly sketched the great epic of colonization realized by the discoverers, conquistadores, missionaries, legislators, and others who participated in the implantation of Spanish civilization in the new world. He made an appeal for more thorough historical investigation and addressing the American delegates, stated,

If the knowledge of our history is necessary for you because it is the origin of yours, even so the knowledge of the history of America, past and present, is necessary for our culture. I hope that the extension and diffusion of these studies [of American history], today scanty in our country, shall be one of the results of this congress, because this field of study is most extensive and is little and poorly explored. Daily we are pleasantly surprised by the concrete rectifications which the new investigations produce. Today it is the arts, tomorrow the political labor of the viceroys or the biographies of illustrious unknown persons, the work of the missionaries or the effects of Spanish instruction in the new continent. Always there are pleasant discoveries in the rich mine and to labor resolutely in it you are assembled here.

The following days were given over to the sectional meetings in the mornings and social entertainments in the late afternoons. The preliminary plan called for six sections but these were reduced to three, viz.: (1) Prediscovery and discovery of America; (2) Colonization; and (3) Geography. For these meetings there was no set pro-

gram, the chairman in each case calling up from among the papers which had been submitted, usually giving preference to authors who happened to be present at the opening of the section. This system made it rather difficult to know the subjects to be treated at any given time or to hear the papers in which one was especially interested.

In the first section the most exciting theme was that of Columbus. Two theories were set before the congress and debated with vigor and to great extent, in fact too great. Sr. Luis Ulloa, ex-director of the National Library of Lima, who has already published two volumes on the subject,<sup>1</sup> set forth his thesis that Columbus was a Catalan corsair and not the son of a Genoese wool carder and that he had made a voyage to America prior to the capitulations of Santa Fe; and he cited a number of interesting documents in proof of his contentions. On the other hand Father Adrián Sánchez advanced the theory that Columbus was born in Estremadura and proposed seven points for his thesis. However, in all his presentation, which was extensive, he failed to get beyond his first point or to produce any documentary evidence. After all the debate the general opinion seemed to remain in favor of the classical theory regarding the birth of Columbus and his discovery of America. Miss Alice B. Gould, who has long been devoted to the study of Columbus, gave interesting account regarding her studies to identify the seventeen ships and 1500 individuals that made up the second voyage of Columbus.

One of the best prepared as well as most interesting papers of this section (although much too long to be read entire—although it was read) was by Sr. José de la Riva-Agüero, official delegate of Peru, on the "Raza y Lengua probables de la Civilización de Tiahuanaco". He set forth the theses that the founders of Tiahuanaco were not Aimaras, that the Incas came from lake Titicaca and were of the Quechua race and language and that there is no proof that the Aimara culture and tongue are any older than the Quechua. From the standpoint of excellent presentation, as well as for its subject matter, great praise must be given to Professor Eduardo Ibarra, of the University of Madrid, for

<sup>1</sup> Luis Ulloa, *Christophe Colomb, Catalan* (Paris, 1927); and *Xristo-Ferens Colom, Fernando el Católico y la Cataluña Española* (Paris, [1928]). See also *New York Times*, December 7, 1930, Did Columbus land on American Shores before 1492? See also Cecil Jane, *Select Documents illustrating the four Voyages of Columbus* (London, 1930), pp. xvii, xxxii, xxxiv-xxxv, 148 n. 3.

his paper on the "Precedentes extranjeros de la Casa de Contratación". Coming at the end of a weary session of discussing Columbus, Professor Ibarra, in snappy Spanish interspersed with sparkling wit, presented the essential facts of his interesting study, in a brief period. He traced the antecedents of the casa de contratación back through the practices and experiences of Portugal, England, the Hanseatic League, and even to Hamarubi, showing that Spain did the natural and obvious thing in the matter of trade practices and that in so doing followed the precedents of the nations which had had occasion to enter into overseas trade prior to Spanish experience. Other papers of this section were: "Palos y la Rábida en el Movimiento Hispano-Americano", by Sr. Marchena Colombo of Huelva; "La Familia de Atahualpa", by Gabriel Navarro Enríquez, consul general of Ecuador in Spain; "Conquista y Evangelización de América, Estudio crítico de la Contribución a ella prestada por la Orden de Santo Domingo", by Padre Manuel M. Martínez, O. P.; and "El Origen de los Mejicanos según el Doctor Francisco Hernández", by Padre Agustín J. Barreiro.

The second section, which was devoted to colonization, included a considerable group of papers dealing with various phases of the organization of the Spanish colonial empire and the brief presentation of a number of recently published works, several of which deal with archival investigation. The following papers were of the first group: Professor Ernesto Schafer, delegate of the Ibero-American Institute of Hamburg, "Algunas Consideraciones para escribir la Historia del Consejo Supremo de Indias"; Sr. Luís Redonet, of the Academy of History, "El Espíritu rural de España en la Colonización de América"; Professor Tomás Elorreita, of the University of Madrid, "El Imperio Español de América"; Professor Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, of the University of Madrid, "La Edad media y la Empresa de América"; Padre Pedro Martínez Vélez, O. S. A., "Importancia de los Cronistas Agustinos para el Conocimiento de la Historia del Perú"; Mrs. Anna Schoellkopf, "Elógió de Bernardo de Gálvez"; Professor Demetrio Nalda, of the Real Academia Hispano-Americano de Cádiz, "Los Cripto-Judios; una Página de las Relaciones entre España, Inglaterra y América"; and Colonel Gaspar do Couto Rebeiro Villas, of Lisbon, "Portuguese Colonization in Brazil", based on unedited documents.

The presentation of the published works took the form of a brief

statement regarding the work and its contents. Sr. José Torre Revello, delegate of Argentina and for many years in charge of the Argentine mission in the Archivo de Indias, dealt with the history of the archives and cataloguing of the manuscripts deposited therein.<sup>2</sup> Sr. Cristóbal Bermúdez Plata, director of the Archivo de Indias, explained the work of cataloguing that is being carried on by the archivists with special reference to the formulation of lists of those who went to the Indies.<sup>3</sup> Professor José María Ots Capdequi, of the University of Seville and technical director of the Instituto Hispano-Cubano de Historia at Seville, gave an account of the work of this latter institution which has recently been founded for the purpose of furthering historical studies and indicated the nature of the first catalogues which have been published by the Institute.<sup>4</sup> Sr. Gabriel Navarro Enríquez presented his recent work dealing with colonial art and architecture.<sup>5</sup>

The papers presented in the third section devoted to geography were in general of a technical character. These included: Sr. Fernando Gil Montaner, "El Astrolabio de Prisma en los Trabajos geodésico-astronómicos"; Sr. Fernández Ascarza, Determinaciones de Coordenadas geográficas en el Observatorio de Madrid"; Sr. Enrique Meseguer, "El Servicio meteorológico Español y las Rutas aéreas sobre el Atlántico", in which he urged the necessity of more extensive meteorological studies and observations of the aerial routes of the Atlantic; Captain Manuel García Vaquero, "La Fotogrametría en el Servicio geográfico del Ejército", which gave a description of the photographic work carried on by the Spanish army in the Pyrenees,

<sup>2</sup> José Torre Revello, *El Archivo General de Indias de Sevilla: Historia y Clasificación de sus Fondos*, Publicaciones del Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas, Num. I. Buenos Aires, 1929. Pp. 215.

<sup>3</sup> Personal Facultativo del Archivo General de Indias, *Catálogo de Pasajeros a Indias durante los Siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII*, Volumen I (1509-1553). Publicaciones de la Inspección General de Emigración, Ministerio de Trabajo. Madrid, 1930. Pp. 469.

<sup>4</sup> José M. Ots Capdequi, ed., *Catálogo de los Fondos Cubanos del Archivo General de Indias*, Tomo. I, Volumen I, *Consultas y decretos, 1664-1783*. Publicaciones del Instituto Hispano-Cubano de Historia de América. Madrid, 1930. Pp. 475.

——— *Catálogo de los Fondos Americanos del Archivo de Protocolos de Sevilla*, tomo I, *Siglo XVI*. Publicaciones del Instituto Hispano-Cubano de Historia de América, Madrid, 1930. Pp. 560.

<sup>5</sup> José Gabriel Navarro Enríquez, *La Escultura en el Ecuador (Siglos XVI al XVIII)*. Madrid, 1929. Pp. 195.



the Canary Islands, and Spanish Morocco; and Sr. José Galbis, "El Magnetismo en España". In this section as well as in the others numerous papers were read by title only.

At the closing session on May 8, the minister of public instruction, Professor Elias Tormo, presided. The secretary read a statement of the conclusions of the congress. These included suggestions regarding the teaching of American history in the Spanish universities; the organization of reference libraries at the Spanish archives; a trip to America of the replica of the Santa María, which was constructed by the Spanish government for the Sevillian exposition; and the proposal, made by Professor Altamira, of the organization of committees of correspondence and study for the preparation of the themes to be discussed at future congresses. Sr. Tormo in his address in which he declared the congress closed, stressed the great importance that the government gave to the congress, discussed the importance of historical studies, expressed his desire for fraternity among the hispanic peoples and indicated

the advantage that, in this meeting of Americans, Spaniards, and Portuguese and in all undertakings which they jointly put in execution, they shall consider that the most efficient way to union must be the love for truth to which respect shall be given even on those occasions in which it does not appear pleasing.

The social side of the congress was an outstanding feature, for here one had opportunity of getting into intimate contact with the members of the congress and besides the entertainments provided were all most interesting and pleasant and were in historical settings. At a tea and garden party given by the Duke of Alba in his very old Sevillian palace, one was treated to a sample of true Andalusian life. A select program of Spanish dancing and music and the service of "*buñuelos*" by women in typical costumes made a pretty picture indeed. On Sunday, there was an excursion on the Guadalquivir River, which carried the trade of the Indies in the sixteenth century. The mayor of Seville gave a reception in the famous Ayuntamiento, with its interesting old session hall, its library and archives full of precious historical records reaching back into the middle ages and its beautiful reception hall with valuable historical paintings and elaborate decorations. There was an excursion to Itálica, the ruins of a once famous Roman city, with its amphitheater and recently discovered wonderful mosaics and street paving, which have lain for centuries beneath an olive orchard. Here was given another excellent program

of Spanish dancing by the noted Otero dancing school. On the way to Itálica, a stop was made at the old convent of San Isidro-extra-muros, at Santi Ponce, which played a part in the Spanish protestant movement of the sixteenth century. There was also a tea in the old Convent of Remedios, across the river from the Torre de Oro, which has been remodeled to become the seat of the recently founded Instituto Hispano-Cubano de Historia de América. Its founder, Sr. Rafael González Abreu, was the genial host on this occasion. During the tea the work of the Institute was described and praised by various speakers. Visits were also made to a number of pavilions of the exposition.

On the closing night, the permanent committee of the Ibero-American Exposition offered a banquet to the members of the congress in the grand hall of the exposition casino. Here amidst the beauty and splendor of the building were pronounced the closing remarks of the congress, words of good fellowship, and appreciation of Spanish hospitality. The official delegates of each country spoke briefly. The writer at the request of the official delegate made the response for the United States, toasting to the development of closer cultural relations, especially in historical studies, between Spain and Portugal and the American Republics.

ROSCOE R. HILL.

Leonia, N. J.

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On December 9, 1930, there was unveiled at Caracas, Venezuela, with impressive ceremony, a statue of Henry Clay, which was presented to Venezuela by the United States. A delegation in charge of Ambassador Extraordinary Mr. Sheffield was sent from the United States to make the presentation. After the unveiling of the statue by President Pérez, the ambassador made an address, in the course of which he said:

May it cement in still closer bonds the unbroken peace that has existed from the beginning between our nations, and convey to the people of your beautiful country the sympathetic understanding of my people and Government, and their earnest desire for your future peace, happiness, and prosperity.

It was the hope of the president of the United States, the ambassador said "that our relations as sister republics may be in the future as in the past based on reciprocal good faith and mutual understandings". Reply to the ambassador's address was made by Dr. Itriago

Chaoín, Venezuelan minister of foreign affairs, and the oration of the day was delivered by Dr. José Santiago Rodríguez. Among other things, the speaker said:

There could be no more appropriate occasion than this splendid and auspicious anniversary of Ayacucho, a date which stamps in burning characters the final success of the democratic movement in Spanish America, whereon to pay this undying homage, this most worthy tribute to the exaltation of Henry Clay, of whom it is sufficient but to recall that, in the Great Republic of the North, . . . he, bound heart and soul unto this movement, rose to be its Champion and its Leader.

On December 10, the delegation visited the National Pantheon, the house where Bolívar was born, and other notable places. The statue of Henry Clay in Caracas and that of Bolívar in New York are bonds between two American peoples that must have an influence toward a better cultural understanding and have their place in the peace of the world.

At the banquet tendered in Caracas to the United States delegation at the time of the unveiling of the statue of Henry Clay on December, 1930, Ambassador Sheffield announced (December 10) that Mr. Rudolf Dolge, United States representative of the Standard Oil Co. in Venezuela, and his wife propose to present to Venezuela and the United States their collection of Venezolana. This unique collection consists of over 10,000 pieces and relates mainly to the history of Venezuela and its relations with the United States. Among its treasures are a number of unique pieces; and as a whole it is a most valuable library, the result of many years ardent collecting. The gift is a memorial to their only son. For its administration, it is proposed to create a trust composed of Venezuelans and citizens of the United States, so that the collection may be made available to students both of Venezuela and of the United States. Mr. Dolge is a citizen of the United States, who has lived many years in Venezuela.

The first meeting of the Institute of Inter-American affairs at the University of Florida, was held at Gainesville, Florida, February 10-13, 1921. The Institute was founded with the following specific aims:

1. To foster international goodwill between the two Americas.
2. To hold conferences and institutes on Inter-American affairs.
3. To stimulate interchange of ideas.
4. To encourage the exchange of students and professors between colleges and universities of the two continents.

5. To promote an interplay of cultural ideas.
6. To stimulate specific studies common to the two Americas.
7. To advance Inter-American interests in agriculture, in trade and commerce, in education, in health, and in other fields of human endeavor.

The specific aim of the first annual meeting was

to outline a definite Inter-American coöperative educational program which will increase understanding among the nations of the western hemisphere. In the development of this program there are two distinct, although closely related, divisions that must be considered. Briefly these are: first, the collecting, translating, and interpreting the information necessary to an intelligent understanding of a people; and second, the dissemination of such information through the various educational channels both formal and informal.

The session of February 10 was on "The place of education in the development of understanding among peoples", and was participated in by William John Cooper, U. S. Commission of education, Wallace W. Atwood, president of Clark University, and John C. Merriam, president of Carnegie Institution of Washington. The session of February 11, on "The place of agricultural education in the development of Inter-American understanding and goodwill", was participated in by Bradford Knapp, president of Alabama Polytechnic Institute, H. Harold Hume, past president of the Florida Horticultural society, and Roscoe W. Thatcher, president of the Massachusetts Agricultural College. A round-table discussion was held in the afternoon of the same day on "The purpose of agricultural experiment stations and extension work in the development of a coöperative agricultural educational program", the speakers at which were David Fairchild, of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, H. Harold Hume, and Sr. Ing. Francisco L. Terminel, representing the Oficina federal para la Defensa Agricola, Mexico. On the morning of February 12, there was round-table discussion on "The nature and scope of the research work to be carried on by the institute to increase intellectual understanding in the Americas", at which John C. Merriam, Wallace W. Atwood, and Joseph L. Jones, foreign editor, United Press, spoke. The last session, that of February 13, was on "The place of the press in the development of an Inter-American educational program", had as speakers, Henry Grattan Doyle, editorial director, *Pan American Magazine*, James A. Robertson, editor, *THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, and Joseph L. Jones.



The ceremonies at Caracas in connection with the centenary of Bolívar's death were opened on December 16 by the firing of military salutes and by half masting the flag on all public buildings and on many private houses. On December 17, the completely rebuilt Pantheon was inaugurated in the presence of the president of Venezuela, the cabinet, and many other officials and notable men and women. Bronze wreaths were presented by several European nations and many American nations. On the same day the ceremonies in connection with the restored cathedral of Caracas were observed. Next day the new concrete road between Maracay and Carabobo, as well as the new bridge over the Tocuyito River, was dedicated. On December 19, the new statue of Bolívar in Caracas was unveiled, as well as statues of General José Antonio Páez and General José de San Martín, the new cavalry barracks, the new infantry barracks, and the new hangars for the air force. On the 21st, the statue of the Cuban, José Martí, was unveiled by President Pérez. These ceremonies, together with the publication of Bolívar's letters, form a fitting memorial to the Liberator. Impressive ceremonies in many cities of the United States were held in memory of Bolívar on December 17.

Ceremonies in honor of the centenary of the death of Bolívar were held at Managua on December 17, 1930. At that time a monument to the Liberator was unveiled by President Moncada assisted by the minister of public instruction. An address was given by Dr. Cordero Reyes.

The committee on cultural relations with Latin America, whose headquarters are at 112 East 19th St., New York City, announces the sixth seminar in Mexico, for July 4-24, 1931. Those interested in attending this seminar should apply to the executive secretary, Hubert C. Herring. The report of the fifth seminar in Mexico, namely *The genius of Mexico* has recently been released. This contains articles by Moisés Saénz, Carleton Beals, Mary Austin, Rafael Ramírez, Manuel Gamio and Paul Kellogg, Diego Rivera and Count René d'Harnoncourt, and Judge Florence Allen and Justice Salvador Urbina. This will be reviewed in a later issue of this REVIEW. The seminar in Mexico was inaugurated as an agency for developing public opinion throughout the United States, making it sensitive to the peculiar genius of the Mexican, appreciative of his artistic and cultural gifts,

and concerned with the creation of relations of mutual respect between the peoples of the two republics. The same committee organized the first seminar in the Caribbean which was held February 14 to March 4, 1931. The seminar in the Caribbean was established as one of the annual projects of the committee and was organized in response to various representations relative to the critical importance of the Caribbean in the international relations of the United States. Membership in the seminar was open upon application or nomination to a representative group of editors, writers, lawyers, business men and women, college and university professors, artists, clergymen, librarians, social workers, engineers, officers of civic organizations, and others.

Dr. Hans W. Hartmann, of Zürich, Switzerland, who did part of his graduate work in the University of Pittsburgh, is offering a course on the "Entdeckung und Kolonisation von mittel- und Südamerika" in the Volkshochschule des Kantons Zürich. In this he discussed the background of discovery and colonization, the voyages of Columbus and other discoverers, the beginnings of Mexico, Peru, and other parts of America, Spanish colonial methods and colonial politics, early Brazil, and other matters.

NOTE: It was wrongly recorded in the February issue of the REVIEW that the genial archivist, Don Pedro Torres Lanzas, had gone to his reward. Dr. A. P. Nasatir, who is now making researches in the Archivo General de Indias at Seville, has informed us that the report (like that of Mark Twain) is "greatly exaggerated". Don Pedro is still "very much alive" and is busily engaged in making studies on "Escudas de Armas". This correction is made because of the many friends in Hispanic circles who are indebted to Don Pedro for many services. Long may Don Pedro stay among us. He has been and is an inspiration to many.—ED.

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SECTION

### SAMUEL BANGS: THE FIRST PRINTER IN TEXAS

The date and the personalities involved in the introduction of the press into the southwest have been subjects for research and speculation for many years, and, as the region was once a part of Mexico, the search for data which would throw light upon the problem has not been limited either to the United States or to English-speaking historians. J. Eleuterio González, in writing of Nuevo Leon,<sup>1</sup> devotes considerable space to his belief that the Anglo-Americans who came into Texas in 1813 brought with them a press which was captured at San Antonio by the Mexicans and taken to Monterey; but neither in the official report of the battle nor in the list of captured goods is there any reference to a press or parts of a press.<sup>2</sup> In some brief unpublished notes, H. R. Wagner states that the first document printed in the southwest which has come to his knowledge is a proclamation of Arredondo, which was issued at Monterey on July 21, 1820.<sup>3</sup> Other writers have referred to the press brought into Texas by the Long expedition in 1819<sup>4</sup> on which a newspaper, the *Texas Republican*, was printed. Of this paper three numbers were reported by other papers in the United States<sup>5</sup> as having been received.

From evidence that there was a press in Texas in 1819 and also one in Monterey in 1820, Wagner jumps to the conclusion that the Monterey press was the press of the Long expedition, thus:

<sup>1</sup> *Colección de Noticias y Documentos para la Historia del Estado de Nuevo León* (Monterey, 1867).

<sup>2</sup> Mexico. Archivo General. Historia, Operaciones de Guerra, Arredondo, 1813-1820. Translation in the *Quarterly* of the Texas Historical Association, XI. 220-236.

<sup>3</sup> Ms. notes on early printing. Photostat copy in University of Texas Library.

<sup>4</sup> Lamar Papers. Calendar no. 703, Lamar's Life of Long. Original in State Library. Printed in *Lamar Papers*, II. 59. Calendar no. 1966, Eli Harris, Providence, Louisiana, January 18, 1841, to M. B. Lamar, in III. 483.

<sup>5</sup> E. W. Winkler, "The Texas Republican", *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, VI. 162-165; VII. 242-243; XVI. 329-331 C. S. Brigham, "Bibliography of American Newspapers" in *Proceedings of American Antiquarian Society*, New Series, XXXV. 98.

There is no doubt that Long's second expedition had a press which was captured, and probably the printer himself, as Bangs was in the expedition and captured, and a short time afterwards he appeared as a printer.<sup>6</sup>

But who was Bangs and how did he get either to Texas or to Monterey? Was Wagner correct in stating that Bangs was with the Long Expedition? Both questions remained without an answer until a letter signed by Samuel Bangs and written at Saltillo in 1822<sup>7</sup> revealed the facts connected with his trip to Texas and Mexico. Where he came from remained a mystery until a reference of Benjamin Lundy gave a clue.<sup>8</sup> Later his name appeared as the publisher of the first "war" newspaper of the Mexican war. It became increasingly evident that a knowledge of the details of even twenty years of Bangs's life would throw some light on the history of the early press in Texas and northern Mexico. With this object in view the task of tracing his career was begun. The search has led from Boston to Mexico City, with many stops en route.

From Lundy's clue that Bangs was a native of Boston, some facts of interest in connection with his life were established. He was a son of Samuel Bangs, Jr., born in 1769, and of Harriet Grier, also of Boston. His father died before 1800, and in that year the will of his grandfather, Samuel Bangs, Sr., was probated. By this he left to "Samuel and Harriet Bangs, minors under 14, children of Samuel Bangs, late of said Boston, glazier, deceased", his property; and William Hawes was appointed their guardian.<sup>9</sup> On November 10, 1801, a new guardian was appointed for both children still "under 14", and on August 18, 1806, a guardian was appointed for Harriet, but Samuel was no longer mentioned. He must then have been born about 1794 of a family prominent in the locality.

We still know nothing of Samuel's education or preparation for business. Whether he was apprenticed is still a question. For ten years he is hidden in the clouds of obscurity, from which he emerges, not in Boston, but in Baltimore, where, in the capacity of printer

<sup>6</sup> Ms. notes.

<sup>7</sup> Samuel Bangs, Saltillo, to Servando Teresa de Mier, Mexico, July 13, 1822. Original in the Mier Papers.

<sup>8</sup> *Life, Travels, and Opinions of Benjamin Lundy* (Philadelphia, 1847), p. 154.

<sup>9</sup> Dean Dudley, *History and Genealogy of the Bangs Family* (Boston, 1896); Probate Records of Suffolk County, XCVIII. 696.



he joins the Mina expedition, bound for Mexico.<sup>10</sup> From this point on, it is possible to follow the thread of his career by tracing the more prominent individuals with whom he was associated. One of these was Dr. Servando de Mier, a Mexican friar, whose career reads almost like a story book.<sup>11</sup> After being exiled from Mexico by ignorant and superstitious ecclesiastics, persecuted in Spain, secularized by the pope, and almost starved to death in France, he had sought refuge in England, where he met Francisco Xavier de Mina, who was fired with enthusiasm to bring about the freedom of Mexico. Into this project Mier entered with his whole heart; and together they procured a boat and supplies with which to carry out their object. With them from England they brought a small portable press.<sup>12</sup> The first stop was made at Baltimore, where they hoped to obtain further financial aid and to buy more supplies. There the services of Bangs as a printer were secured. In September, 1816, the expedition set sail, with the leaders well satisfied with the support and encouragement received. After various experiences, for complete harmony did not at all times prevail among these apostles of liberty, the party halted on Galveston Island. Here Bangs issued a *Manifiesto* of Mina, dated Galveston, February 22, 1817. The document has been reprinted by Bustamante<sup>13</sup> who states that on the verso appears the notice: "Impreso por Juan J. M. Laran y S. Bancs".

There is further documentary evidence—his own printing—by which to trace Bangs for a time from this point. He was at the mouth of the Rio Grande on April 12, 1817;<sup>14</sup> he disembarked at Soto la Marina in May, 1817, and celebrated that event by printing a patriotic song in five stanzas composed by Joaquín Infante.<sup>15</sup> The colophon of this poetic effusion reads: "Soto la Marina, 1817. Samuel Bangs, impresor de la division auxiliar de la republica mexicana".

<sup>10</sup> Samuel Bangs. Application for Land, 1830. Original in State Land Office, Austin, Texas. Spanish grants, XXX. 200-230.

<sup>11</sup> J. E. González, *Biografía del benemérito Mexicano D. Servando Teresa de Mier Noriega y Guerra* (Monterey, 1876).

<sup>12</sup> Hernández y Dávalos, *Documentos para la Historia de México* (Mexico, 1877-1882), VI. 847.

<sup>13</sup> Carlos Maria Bustamante, *Cuadro Histórico* (México 1843-1860, IV. 317-323; 337 note; W. D. Robinson, *Memorias de la Revolución* (London, 1824), p. 59.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, IV. 333.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, IV. 329.

He also printed several numbers of a *Boletín*, some copies of which still survive.<sup>16</sup>

But poetry and newspapers were soon to be driven from Bangs's mind by sterner facts. When Mina decided to advance to the interior of Mexico with a part of his force, he left Bangs and Mier at Sota la Marina, where they were soon captured by Arredondo, the royalist leader in that section of Mexico. At this time Bangs would have shared the fate meted out to almost all the rest of the party—immediate execution—had Arredondo not realized the utility of the press and his need of a printer. The life of Mier was spared because Arredondo knew the great respect in which he was held, not only in Mexico but also abroad; nevertheless he was put in chains, hoisted on a mule, and taken overland to the vile fortress of San Juan de Ulloa in the harbor of Vera Cruz. Not until 1822 did Bangs learn that Mier, after being ordered transported to Spain, had escaped at Havana and was again in Mexico. In a letter to him, Bangs recounted his own experiences as follows:

I am well and have been in this town [Saltillo] three months since I came with the Commandante Gaspar Lopez; for you know how Arredondo took possession of the press when we were made prisoners and that I had the good fortune to have my life spared as I was a printer. Since then I have exercised my profession for the government at a salary so miserable that I could hardly subsist; even now I am paid only 18 pesos a month, but with treatment as contemptible as if I were a prisoner. These gentlemen do not remember that I also exposed my life for the liberty of the north; although it was not effected as we had planned.<sup>17</sup>

With Bangs's printed documents and this letter in existence, the whole theory of Wagner concerning the transfer of the press and printer of the Long expedition to Monterey is exploded. The Long press was destroyed on the spot by the royalists.<sup>18</sup> The press on which the Galveston document was printed was an English press which was taken to Mexico by Mier and Mina,<sup>19</sup> and Bangs had been with it from 1816 until 1822 when he was still operating it at Saltillo,

<sup>16</sup> Reprinted in Genaro García, *Documentos históricos* (Mexico, 1910), IV. García adds the information that it was printed on a portable press in charge of Samuel Bangs. See Introduction, p. xv.

<sup>17</sup> Samuel Bangs, Saltillo, to Servando de Mier, Mexico City, July 13, 1822. A. L. S. 2 ff.

<sup>18</sup> Eli Harris to M. B. Lamar, January 18, 1841, in Lamar Papers.

<sup>19</sup> Statement of Mier before the Inquisition: "Desembarcó Mina su imprenta portatil que traía de Londres" (Hernández y Dávalos, VI. 807).

to which place the seat of government had been removed. There remains small doubt that he was the printer of the 1820 Monterey document referred to by Wagner as the earliest printed in the southwest.

There is other evidence by which Bangs can be traced through the next decade. In 1823 a list of voluntary [?] subscribers to a fund wherewith to assist the government was published in the columns of the official organ at the capital. What do we find there, but the item from Saltillo that "el impresor, Samuel Bangs" will donate 2 pesos from his monthly salary to the cause.<sup>20</sup> Evidently Samuel was still in Saltillo and still a printer. From this point on, for a time, the career of Bangs again became temporarily enshrouded in mystery. But entries in the *Journal* of the congress of Coahuila and Texas for 1830<sup>21</sup> once more established his whereabouts. On January 1 that year he applied to the governor of that state for Mexican citizenship; his application was approved on the 14th; and by decree number 112 José Manuel Bangs was made a citizen of the state of Coahuila and Texas.<sup>22</sup> The seeming discrepancy in the names is cleared up by the postscript to Bangs's letter to Mier in 1822 in which he explained that when the Mexicans baptized him into the Catholic church they changed his name from Samuel to José Manuel, but he continued to sign himself Samuel in order that Mier might recognize him.

The explanation of Bangs's sudden desire for Mexican citizenship and further details of his career between 1823 and 1830 came from a most unexpected quarter. In the records of the state land office at Austin, Texas, is an application for a six-league grant of land on the Colorado signed by José Manuel Bangs at Saltillo on January 27, 1830.<sup>23</sup> In this document Bangs recounts that on the 26th of September, 1816, he left Baltimore with Mina and disembarked at Sota la Marina, in May, 1817. From that time until 1821, he was a prisoner of Arredondo and forced to work as a printer on the government press. In 1823, he returned to his native land, but moved back to Mexico in 1827 when he took with him a printing press which he set up in Victoria and later sold to the government of Tamaulipas; he then established himself at Saltillo with another press which he later sold

<sup>20</sup> *La Gaceta de Mexico*, February 20, 1823.

<sup>21</sup> Transcripts in the library of the University of Texas.

<sup>22</sup> Gammel's *Laws of Coahuila and Texas*.

<sup>23</sup> Spanish Grants, XXX. 200-230.

to the state of Coahuila and Texas. On that press he had been employed steadily until 1830, but since he desired to settle in Texas and devote himself to agriculture, he made application for the six-league grant on the Colorado.

A part of this statement is substantiated by a further record found in Boston. On the 12th of May, 1824, Samuel Bangs, printer, of Boston, applied for the partition of land on the east side of Fort Hill, to "the moiety of which" Samuel Bangs was "seized in fee simple".<sup>24</sup> In his letter to Mier two years earlier he had stated that he had resources upon which he could count.

If additional evidence were needed to prove that Bangs were indeed the government printer, it could easily be supplied from the numerous documents still in existence which bear his name as printer. Many of these are in the Bexar Archives; many others are still in their neat, clean covers in the Archivo General de México.<sup>25</sup> He was still in Saltillo as late as 1832, for Decree number 195 exempts him, on the ground of having a family born in Mexico, from the ruling of Decree 183, which prohibited persons not born in Mexico from selling any goods except "by the half or entire mule-load".<sup>26</sup>

Just when Bangs moved back to Tamaulipas is not clear, but he was employed as the government printer there in 1835 when Lundy made his trip through the region. With him were his wife, a native of lower Virginia, and two sons, living in comfort and ease, if not in affluence, and enjoying to a high degree the confidence of the Mexicans. When Lundy brought to Bangs a letter of introduction from a mutual friend, the rabid abolitionist was cordially received by the Bostonian, and soon Lundy was appealing for aid in securing a grant of land in Mexico on which to establish a colony of free negroes and escaped slaves. Bangs was at once interested, and through his influence the grant was made in Bangs's name, but some time was allowed the empresarios to bring out their colonists. Lundy returned to the United States to secure funds and to send on the colonists.<sup>27</sup>

But before another year had passed conditions were such that

<sup>24</sup> Land Records, Suffolk County, CCXCII. 226.

<sup>25</sup> Many of these were in the Archivo general de la Secretaría de Gobernación which has, since the revolution, been transferred to the Archivo General. In 1930, due to lack of space, these archives had still not been housed with the main collection.

<sup>26</sup> Laws of Coahuila and Texas, Decrees nos. 195 and 183.

<sup>27</sup> Benjamin Lundy, *Life, Travels and Opinions*, pp. 154, 161, and 164.



Lundy found it inadvisable to dispatch colonists and Bangs found it desirable to leave Mexico. The revolution in Texas interfered with their plans, and the death of Bangs's wife decided him to remove his children from danger. While at Matamoras, en route to New Orleans, in March, 1836, he met James Ogilvy, a Scotchman who had been active in land matters in the region for several years, and to him Bangs gave a general power of attorney with full authority as agent to carry out the original terms of the grant.<sup>28</sup>

Just where Bangs went or how he occupied himself during the next three years is open to question. Ben Stuart, who knew him intimately for many years, states that Bangs returned to the United States, married Miss Caroline French, moved to Mobile, and there set up a printing office.<sup>29</sup> From another source we learn that he married the first time in Baltimore, went to Mexico, and there amassed considerable wealth. Having lost his wife, he returned to Baltimore, married a second time, and moved to Cincinnati, Ohio. After a short residence there, he returned to Texas, landing at Galveston in 1839.<sup>30</sup>

At least there is documentary evidence which shows Bangs at New Orleans in December, 1838, with his eyes turned toward Texas.<sup>31</sup> Ogilvy was trying to get a confirmation of the Tamaulipas grant from the government of that state or to dispose of the claim in a profitable manner. He was also handling Bangs's claim for the six league grant applied for in 1830. Apparently a two-league tract had been surveyed for him on the Brazos by Isaac Cummings, who failed to sign the field notes. As Bangs was not at hand to see that the necessary formalities had been complied with, the title was still faulty. The matter of clearing up this claim is noted day by day in

"'Diary of Adolphus Sterne'" in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXX. This was really the diary of James Ogilvy, but the editor did not realize the fact until after the first part of the manuscript was in print.

"'History of Texas Newspapers'". Ms. in the Rosenberg Library, Galveston, Texas.

"'Printing in Galveston'" in *Galveston City Directory*, 1859. This excerpt and that from the Stuart Ms. were furnished the writer by Mr. Frank C. Patten, Librarian of the Rosenberg Library.

"Ogilvy's Diary under date of December 12, 13, 20, 25, 28, 29, 1838, and January 3, 14, 18, 19, 21, 22, 26, February 8, 11, 22, 26, 27, March 5, 7, 14, 15, 18, 29, April 2, 6, 7, et passim, indicates Bangs's whereabouts, intentions, and the closeness of the relations between the two.

the *Diary*. In January 1839, Ogilvy records that Bangs was still in New Orleans waiting on his wife who had been twice wrecked in coming down the river. In February, he noted his unsuccessful attempts to secure work for Bangs on the *Telegraph* in Houston. In March, he records that Bangs was in Galveston, where he had already acquired title to a city lot, as well as to one in Houston.

With Bangs there came to Texas at this time his two brothers-in-law, G. H. and H. R. French, both newspaper men, with whom his interests for the next several years were closely linked. At some time between the date of his arrival and April 15, the *Galvestonian*, a daily newspaper, began to be issued "from the office of Mr. Bangs".<sup>32</sup> It was at first edited by "Plain" John Gladwin, but after the death of that gentleman in October, the editorship fell to H. R. French, under whose guiding hand it continued at least until May, 1840.<sup>33</sup> In September of that year the *San Luis Advocate* began publication at the small town of that name on Galveston Island, and the inclusion of an article "Mina and the Three Hundred", which ran from November 11, 1840, through February 5, 1841, suggests that Bangs was in some way associated with that paper, too.<sup>34</sup> After Number 41 had been printed the paper was removed to Galveston "in order to increase facilities for communication regularly with every section of the republic as well as with foreign nations", and the name was changed to the *Texas Times*. On March 11, 1843, G. H. French with G. L. Hamlin took charge of its publication.<sup>35</sup>

Bangs was probably not interested in this paper, for just at the time of the decease of the *Advocate* he appeared as the publisher of the *Commercial Chronicle*, of which the fourth number was in circulation before September 8, 1842.<sup>36</sup> Of this paper, which changed its title to the *Independent Chronicle*, Bangs was editor, printer, publisher, and proprietor. In policy, the paper was anti-Houston, and for over a year its editor continued "banging", much to the disgust of the administration press. It was lamented by one of these gentlemen that Bangs's enthusiasm was not accompanied with a discretion

<sup>32</sup> "Printing in Galveston" in *Galveston City Directory*, 1859, p. 89.

<sup>33</sup> *Austin City Gazette*, May 6, 1840.

<sup>34</sup> In an unsigned manuscript in the Dyer Collection, Rosenberg Library, it is stated that Samuel Bangs worked "for Mr. Pincus on the *San Louis Times*".

<sup>35</sup> *The Texas Times*, November 23, 1842; March 11, 1843.

<sup>36</sup> *The Redlander* (San Augustine, Texas), September 8, 1842.

and sense of propriety consonant with the dignity of the station which he had assumed. Nevertheless, all held a kindly feeling for him personally, perhaps, because, as one openly said, they did not believe that he would do any harm anyway.<sup>37</sup>

It is very probable that the *Chronicle* was not a financial success; at any rate by November, 1845, Bangs was publishing another paper—the *Daily Globe*, of which B. F. Neal, the quondam editor of the *Galveston News*, was editor. It was printed on a small sheet, but the editorials were favorably commented upon by the editor of the *Telegraph*.<sup>38</sup> This paper cannot have survived long, at least under Bangs's personal supervision, for on January 1, 1846, he became the publisher of the first of the "war" newspapers.

The arrival of General Taylor with United States troops at Corpus Christi turned the eyes of Texas to that region. There Bangs thought he saw a great opportunity for a newspaper. He secured as a partner in the enterprise a local physician, Dr. George W. Fletcher, and as editor, José de Alba, one of the most important members of the Spanish speaking colony at Corpus. The first issue appeared on January 1, 1846, under the title of the *Corpus Christi Gazette*. It was no "two-by-four" paper, but a full sized sheet with four pages to the issue.<sup>39</sup> The type was new and good, woodcuts adorned the advertisements, and the whole paper bore evidence of the hand of an experienced printer which Bangs certainly was. As an index to life in Corpus at the opening of 1846 the issues of the *Gazette* are priceless. In politics the policy of the paper was neutral.

But the days of prosperity for Bangs in Corpus were numbered. During two months the *Gazette* sold well, but only too soon the troops were ordered forward to the Rio Grande. On March 11, the last were under way; and a few days later, in an almost deserted town, the twelfth and last number of the *Gazette* was issued. But already Bangs had a new project in mind. After finding a new partner, he loaded his press on an oxcart and moved on to Matamoras.

Early in June, a new paper, the *Rio Grande Herald*, was an-

<sup>37</sup> *Bedlander*, October 7, 1843; January 13, 1844.

<sup>38</sup> November 19, 1845.

<sup>39</sup> Volume 1, number 7, February 12, 1846, is in the library of the Wisconsin Historical Society; number 12 is in the Archivo General de la Secretaría de Guerra, Mexico City. References to the paper are in the *Texas Democrat*, May 6, 1846, and the *Daily Picayune*, January 6, 1846.

nounced as shortly to be published at Matamoras by Bangs, of the defunct *Gazette*, and Gideon Lewis, an editor of the *Galveston News*. The *Herald* never materialized, but in its stead, on June 24 the *Matamoras Reveille* appeared.<sup>40</sup> This paper, frequently confused with the *St. Louis Reveille*, from which it probably borrowed its title, was at first issued as a semi-weekly in both Spanish and English. The Spanish section was, however, soon dropped, and a separate paper in Spanish issued from the same press by different publishers. As the result of an objectionable article which appeared in the foreign paper, the office was closed in August by order of General Taylor, and no trace of further issues has been found.<sup>41</sup>

Just what Bangs did next is not so clear. He removed to Point Isabel, where, according to one authority, "he was wrecked and lost everything".<sup>42</sup> Two other contemporary times serve to trace him during the next few years. Early in 1847, it was reported from Corpus that Bangs had returned home.<sup>43</sup> On November 1, 1848, he signed a deed in Galveston.<sup>44</sup> On June 2, 1849, there appeared in the *Corpus Christi Star* an account, taken from the *Brownsville Flag*, of an Indian attack upon the stage from Point Isabel. The proprietor, Mr. Bangs, and a passenger, Mr. Lombardo, were taken prisoners. Mr. Bangs was reported to have escaped later in a state of nudity.

At this point Bangs's connections with the southwest, and probably with the press, ended. He is reported by one authority to have removed to Kentucky and died there in 1853.<sup>45</sup> Another account says he died in Ashland, Kentucky, in 1850 or 51 or in 1855-56[?].<sup>46</sup>

At all events, his rewards were far different from his earlier expectations. From the Tamaulipas land grant he received nothing; Ogilvy died in 1840 before anything had been satisfactorily arranged. From his Texas grant of 1830 he received (1845) 1240 acres on the Colorado River which he promptly transferred to Charles Frisbie,

<sup>40</sup> *Daily Picayune*, June 14 and July 7, 1846. Volume 1, number 1, is in the library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

<sup>41</sup> *Daily Picayune*, July 16, 1846; *Northern Standard* (Clarksville, Texas), September 5, 1846.

<sup>42</sup> "Printing in Galveston", p. 90.

<sup>43</sup> *New Orleans Weekly Delta*, March 22, 1847, quoting from the *Galveston News* letter dated at Corpus Christi March 2, 1847.

<sup>44</sup> Index to Deeds Record, Galveston County.

<sup>45</sup> "Printing in Galveston", p. 90.

<sup>46</sup> Ben Stuart, Ms. "History of Texas Newspapers".



probably to secure funds for the Rio Grande expedition. During the next four years he parted with one piece of property after another, until by 1849 he had nothing left. His children by his first wife were by this time grown. One son worked on the *Galveston News* until his death in the seventies; the other son returned east to make his home. At the close of his press career Bangs had only his wife and a child born in Galveston in 1840 to make up his household. Of neither of these has a later trace been found.

The pioneer work of Bangs in connection with the introduction of the press into the southwest merits more than a passing mention. He printed the first document now known to have been printed on the soil of Texas. He operated the first press known in Monterey. He introduced the press into the states of Tamaulipas and Coahuila, and issued in the capitals of both of those states many documents and books. He printed the first daily in Galveston, and there published the *Chronicle* and *Globe* as well as worked on the *San Luis Advocate*. He printed the first "war" paper in Corpus in 1846 and at Matamoras the second paper in English published in Mexico. For more than three decades he devoted himself to furthering the interests of the community in which he found himself through increasing the power of the press in that locality. His pride in his work and the high standard he maintained are evident in the surviving copies of his Texas newspapers and the Mexican decrees and regulations which he issued. Blessed with vision and enthusiasm, he called both into play in extending the territory reached by the press. And since he was the first printer in the whole vast territory included in the states of Texas, Coahuila, Nuevo León, and Tamaulipas, well does he deserve the title of the pioneer of the press in the southwest.

LOTA M. SPELL.

Austin, Texas.

HISPANIC AMERICA IN RECENT FRENCH PERIODICAL  
LITERATURE

Recent years have witnessed in France as elsewhere an increasing attention devoted to things Hispanic. One evidence of this growing interest is to be seen in the number of monthly reviews containing articles on Hispanic American history and institutions. In this brief article are noted the more significant articles which have appeared in these fields during the last six months of 1930. In the August number of the *Revue de l'Amérique Latine*, Robert Levellier, who has already several works on Argentina to his credit, has an illuminating article, "La conquête de l'Argentine: Les idéologies". This forms a chapter in the second volume of his *Nueva Crónica de la Conquista del Tucumán*. His thesis is that the conquest and settlement of large parts of Spanish South America represented not only the exploits of military chieftains but also the work of "penseurs virils, à l'esprit clair et inventif". These were the "idéologues" without whose foresight and inspiration nothing durable could have been accomplished. Among the "idéologues" figure such men as Charles V., the viceroy, Francisco de Toledo, and the licenciado, Matienzo. In the July and September numbers of the same review the Peruvian scholar and diplomat Pedro Ugarteche has written on the topic, "Au service de l'Amérique (Un demi-siècle de la politique internationale péruvienne)". The article, based in good part on the *Memorias de Relaciones Exteriores del Perú*, supplies an interesting account of the reaction of the Peruvian foreign office to such episodes as Walker's filibustering expeditions, the French intervention in Mexico, and the Spanish recovery of Santo Domingo. In the October and November issues René Richard has two timely articles on the recent political upheaval in South America entitled "La vie politique en Amérique", and "La vie politique: L'Amérique révoltée". Although the author reveals a certain grasp of the causes of these unhappy events he attributes an absurdly disproportionate importance to hostility toward the United States. For him certain of the late revolutions constituted "a second war of independence". In the November and December numbers René Bouvier has a very interesting article entitled "Robespierre au Paraguay". Robespierre is of course none other than the gloomy Francia, regarding whom the writer has collected a number of little known and highly picturesque

items. His appreciation of the general development of Paraguay drew forth in the December issue an intemperate but rather irrelevant defense of his country by the Paraguayan minister in France, Sr. Caballero de Bedoya. Finally, the December issue has a valuable article by Dr. Victor Andrés Belaunde, editor of the *Mercurio Peruano*, and a member of the faculty of Miami University, entitled "Les dernières années de Bolívar".

In the October number of the *Revue Politique et Parlementaire* Max Daireaux has written a savage critique of the administration of former President Irigoyen under the title of "La Révolution Argentine". In the December issue of the same review is an excellent article by Professor Baudin, of the Faculty of Law of the University of Dijon, entitled "L'Empire des Incas". It consists of an admirable résumé of many of the conclusions reached by the author in his *La Vie de Francois Pizarre* (1930) and his monograph "*L'Empire socialiste des Inka* (1928). This latter work has a critical bibliography of some six hundred titles.

The July number of *France-Amérique* has an article by G. Le Gentil, *chargé de cours* at the Sorbonne, entitled "L'Amérique portuguese et la légende noire". The writer's purpose is to point out the substantial injustice of the charges made by the detractors of Portugal's colonial policy in Brazil. In the November number the well-known Uruguayan writer Hugo D. Barbagelata has given under the title of "L'Uruguay et son premier centenaire" a graphic summary of a century's progress. In the same issue the Mexican engineer has an article on "L'Œuvre social de la revolution mexicaine". Likewise, in the November number is the first of a series of articles by the distinguished jurist and writer, Rodrigo Octavio, a member of the Brazilian Academy and judge of the federal supreme court in Rio de Janeiro. The articles have as their subject "La participation étrangère au developpement economique du Brésil et Silva Lisboa". Lisboa was a famous Brazilian political scientist and jurist (1756-1835) who contributed powerfully to the growth of the spirit of nationalism during the reigns of John VI. and Pedro I.

PERCY ALVIN MARTIN.

Stanford University.

## A BRIEF CLASSIFIED BIBLIOGRAPHY RELATING TO UNITED STATES INTERVENTION IN NICARAGUA

This partial list of the sources available for the study of United States intervention in Nicaragua is largely restricted to materials written in English. The titles cited are in the general library of the University of Michigan, unless otherwise specified. They are here classified, and accompanied by brief descriptive and critical notes. While not exhaustive, the titles have been selected with a view to furnishing abundant representative sources of varied types, and include items upon special phases and topics necessary to an understanding of the general features involved. Items of apparent importance not available for a study made on the intervention by the compiler, or not used, are listed briefly within parentheses at the close of each division of the bibliography. The numbering of items examined is continuous, and the arrangement within each division is alphabetical by authors. The scheme of classification follows.

### A. BIBLIOGRAPHIES

#### I. *General*

#### II. *Special*

### B. PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

#### I. *Official pronouncements or communications*

#### II. *Other public documents*

### C. PERIODICALS AND PAPERS BEFORE LEARNED SOCIETIES

#### I. *General accounts, mainly descriptive and narrative*

#### II. *Papers and Addresses before Learned Societies or printed in Professional Journals*

#### III. *Editorial Articles, controversial articles, and attempts at appraisal.*

#### IV. *Newspapers*

### D. BOOKS AND MONOGRAPHS

#### I. *Detailed special Treatments*

#### II. *Brief general Treatments and special Phases*

##### a. *General treatments in Texts and longer Histories*

##### b. *Works describing the Country, earlier History, and other Phases of the Background of the Intervention*

##### c. *Special Phases of the Intervention*

### A. BIBLIOGRAPHIES

#### I. *General*

1. Pierson, William Whatley, Jr.: *Hispanic-American History. A Syllabus.* Revised and enlarged. Chapel Hill, N. C. 1926.



Contains a brief general list of books dealing with Hispanic-American history, pp. 9-13, and detailed reading lists of books in English and Spanish at the close of each section. Work of a competent scholar.

2. Library of Congress. Division of Bibliography: United States Relations with Mexico and Central America, with special Reference to Intervention. Washington. November 13, 1928. Pp. 30.

Very valuable indexed pamphlet listing over three hundred items in English and Spanish. Later and more valuable than item 3 below.

## II. *Special*

3. Library of Congress. Division of Bibliography: Recent References on Nicaragua with special Reference to her Relations with the United States. Washington. February 25, 1927.

Mimeographed title list embracing over one hundred items, of which about one-quarter are from the *Congressional Record*.

With the exception of the above item, no extended bibliography covering this particular topic was discovered. Helpful selected lists of authorities are to be found in the appendices to Harold Norman Denny's *Dollars for bullets* (item 77), and Raphael de Nogales's *The looting of Nicaragua* (item 78). The footnotes of Isaac Joslin Cox's *Nicaragua and the United States, 1909-1928* (item 75), furnish valuable guidance to Hispanic-American sources.

## B. PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

### I. *Official pronouncements or communications*

4. United States. Department of State: Foreign Relations, the Relations of the United States with foreign Nations. Washington.

Annual publication listing correspondence between the United States and foreign nations, between the department of state and its representatives abroad, together with pertinent proclamations, etc. Volumes for the years 1909 to 1917 (the latest available). Very valuable.

5. Salvador: The Republic of El Salvador against the Republic of Nicaragua; Complaint of the Republic of El Salvador, with Appendices. Washington. 1917.

Briefs submitted by Salvador before the Central American court of justice.

6. United States. *Department of State*: State Department releases. Washington. Issued at intervals.

Official information made available for general newspaper publication.

7. United States. *Department of State*: A brief History of the Relations between the United States and Nicaragua, 1909-1928. Washington. 1928.

Official summary statement. Indispensable.

8. United States. *President* [Cleveland]: Message relating to affairs at Bluefields. Washington. 1895. Pp. 207.

Official account.

9. United States. *President* [Coolidge]: Conditions in Nicaragua, Message from President of the United States transmitting to Congress of the United States the Conditions and Action of the Government in the present Disturbance in Nicaragua. House document no. 633, in *Congressional Record*, LXVIII. pt. 2, 1324-1326. Washington.

A message of information reviewing the causes of the intervention in 1926 and justifying the administration's policies.

10. Weitzel, George Thomas: American Policy in Nicaragua; memorandum on the Convention between the United States and Nicaragua relative to an interoceanic Canal and a naval Station in the Gulf of Fonseca. 64th cong., 1st sess., sen. doc. no. 334. Washington. 1916.

A vigorous defense of American policy from 1909 to 1915 by a former minister of the United States to Nicaragua, controverting categorically each of nine charges against the policy.

In addition to the above officially issued publications see Isaac Joslin Cox, *Nicaragua and the United States, 1909-1927*, Boston, 1927, containing a copy of many documents and much correspondence bearing upon the topic.

## II. *Other public documents*

11. Playter, Harold: Nicaragua, a commercial and economic Survey. Department of commerce, bureau of foreign and domestic commerce, trade information series no. 54. Washington. 1927. Pp. 158.

Full description of commercial possibilities, with a glance at history and transportation.

12. United States. *Department of Commerce*: Nicaragua, a review of commerce and industries, 1918-1923. Bureau of foreign and domestic commerce, trade information bulletin no. 255. Washington. 1924.

Valuable only for statistical information on these topics.

(Of apparently high value are the reports of the collector general of customs and high commissioner of Nicaragua, published by the Nicaraguan government at Managua, especially those for 1927 and 1928.)

## C. PERIODICALS AND PAPERS BEFORE LEARNED SOCIETIES

I. *General accounts, mainly descriptive and narrative*

13. Alba, Pedro de: Mexico and Nicaragua. In *Living Age*, 332: 204-206, February 1, 1927.

Translation of an Hispanic-American newspaper article from *El Universal*. Interesting viewpoint and description by another "child of the same conquest". Describes and pillories methods of Chamorro to pack the Nicaraguan congress.

14. America's Neighbors in Trouble. In *Outlook*, 145:169-170, February 9, 1927.

Informative set of questions and answers, with no expression of opinion.

15. Beach, Stewart: Nicaragua's divine Right to Vote. In *Independent*, 121:118-119, August 4, 1928.

Reasonably commendatory review of success of final stages of United States activities; insists upon the correctness of the attitude of the United States as a whole.

16. ——— Nicaragua's Jungles Fly the Jolly Roger. In *Independent*, 120:70-71, January 21, 1928.

Serious and fair discussion. Restrained in tone while dealing with factual materials, but raises question as to motives in final paragraph.

17. Beals, Carleton: Chamorro, the strong Man of Nicaragua. In *Nation*, 126:430-432, April 18, 1928.

Small part consumed with discussion of Chamorro, and that used as introduction for a criticism of our policy. Accuses United States of setting up puppet president.

18. Binder, Carroll: On the Nicaraguan Front; how the American Intervention Looks to an Eye-witness. In *New Republic*, 50:87-90, March 16, 1927.

Evidences investigation on the spot. Generally fair in tone, and concludes that substantial native leaders are in agreement on the necessity of the American program.

19. Cabbages and Kings Country. In *Living Age*, 327:343-345, November 15, 1925.

Light journalistic account of the Rivas disturbance of August, 1925.

20. Carey, W. C.: Emancipated Nicaragua. In *Living Age*, 328: 415-418, February 20, 1926.

Journalistic report of conditions among revolution makers. Of little value.

21. Carter, C. B.: Kentucky Feud in Nicaragua: why civil War has become her national Sport. Illus. Map. In *World's Work*, 54:312-321, July, 1927.

Gossipy but direct account by the American appointed to set up and train the native constabulary.

22. Chapman, Charles Edward: The American Experiment in Nicaragua. Map. In *Review of Reviews* 66:405-410, October, 1922.  
Informing review of the earlier period by competent scholar who knows Hispanic-American world.
23. Edge, Walter Evans: Nicaragua trade Route. In *Saturday Evening Post*, 201:29, May 11, 1929.  
Article stating facts and arguments about the Nicaraguan canal by the chairman of the United States senate committee on interoceanic canal.
24. Edmonds, James E[dward]: Nicaragua's Centuries of Strife and Bloodshed. Illus. Map. In *Current History*, 31:286-293, November, 1929.  
Deals mainly with the period prior to 1909, but has one or more pages on later period. Good for background of earlier activities.
25. Hackett, Charles Wilson: Nicaragua elects Moncada President. Map. In *Current History*, 29:486-488, December, 1928.  
A purely informative account, based on current sources, constituting part of the author's regular monthly contribution as an "associate" on the magazine's staff of historians.
26. ———— Nicaraguan civil Strife ended by United States Ultimatum. In *Current History*, 26:634-637, July, 1927.  
Similar to above item, but dealing with Stimson's mission and its results. Purely objective.
27. ———— A Review of our Policy in Nicaragua. In *Current History*, 29:285-288, November, 1928.  
A moderate but uncompromising disapproval of our policy by a professor of Hispanic-American history in the University of Texas. Finds our action inconsistent, and especially criticizes our treatment of Central American protests against the Bryan-Chamorro treaty.
28. ———— Rival Governments in Nicaragua. In *Current History*, 25:734-736, February, 1927.  
Purely factual chronicle of events in November and December, 1926, with enough of past history to render the situation intelligible.
29. ———— United States Intervention in Nicaragua. Map. In *Current History*, 26:104-107, April, 1927.  
Informative and factual. Especially valuable as summarizing criticism in congress, Hispanic-America, and elsewhere.
30. Kilmer, William. Must Uncle Sam Build a Nicaragua Canal? Illus. and diagram. In *Review of Reviews*, 81:52-56, May, 1930.  
A loosely written review of Nicaraguan canal possibilities by a United States army engineer who reaches no specific conclusions.
31. Letter from Nicaragua. Illus. In *Outlook*, 145:436-438, April 6, 1927; 146:16-17; May 4, 1927; 146:316-318; July 6, 1927.



Apparently from a member of the marine corps. Represents Nicaraguan populace as welcoming the restoration of order, and willing to take up with a status similar to that of Cuba.

32. Marines and Machine Guns in Nicaragua. Illus. In *Independence*, 118:90-91, January 22, 1927.

Purely informative.

33. Moncada, José María: Nicaragua and American Intervention. In *Outlook*, 147:460-462, December 14, 1927.

Article by the president elect. Is almost wholly sympathetic with American policy. Makes no claim of pressure by Stimson.

34. Penfield, Walter Scott: Emiliano Chamorro, Nicaragua's Dictator. Illus. Map. In *Current History*, 24:345-350, June, 1926.

A moderate, well-informed denunciation of Chamorro's attempt to elevate himself to the presidency, noting illegalities of his moves. Author in Nicaragua at the time; has served as legal adviser to Nicaraguan legation in Washington.

35. Politics in Nicaragua. In *World's Work*, 56:579-580, October, 1928.

Brief statement regarding candidates for the approaching election. Quotes "an American who knows Nicaragua well". Generally approving.

36. Sandino of Nicaragua, Bandit or Patriot? Illus. In *Literary Digest*, 96:42-50, February 4, 1928.

Selections from varied sources, mainly in the United States, in appraisal of Sandino.

37. Stimson, Henry Lewis: American Policy in Nicaragua. Illus. In *Saturday Evening Post*, 200:8-9, October 1, 1927; 200:20-21, October 8, 1927; 200:18-19, October 15, 1927.

Contains materials later published in book form as *American Policy in Nicaragua* (item No. 79, below).

38. Turner, John Kenneth: Nicaragua. In *Nation*, 114:646-648, May 31, 1922.

Contains alleged instances of over-large gains by bankers, but no evidence beyond assertions.

39. Timely Warning. In *Scientific American*, 138:400, May, 1928.

Calls attention to earthquakes as obstacles which will prevent building the Nicaraguan canal.

## II. *Papers and Addresses before Learned Societies, or Printed in Professional Journals*

40. Buell, Raymond Leslie: The Intervention Policy of the United States. In *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 138:71-72, July, 1928.

Discusses our intervention in Nicaragua in long general paper on the intervention policy of the United States. Regards our latest intervention as unnecessary, unfortunate, and productive of much justifiable criticism. Dogmatic in tone, with sweeping assertions.

41. Cesar, Alejandro: Nicaragua and the United States. In *Advocate of Peace*, 90:641-644, October-November, 1928.

Delivered as an address before the 100th anniversary of American Peace Society at Cleveland, Ohio, May 9, 1928, by Nicaraguan minister to the United States. Approves American action, refutes charges of pressure by American bankers, and offers copy of alleged letter of Sandino to Moncada promising disbandment and collection of the arms of his forces.

42. Dodds, Harold Willis: American Supervision of the Nicaraguan Elections. In *Foreign Affairs*, 7:488-496, April, 1929.

Simple straightforward account by a trained political scientist familiar with Nicaragua before this time through drafting of earlier election law. Answers charges of favoritism.

43. ——— United States and Nicaragua. In *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 132:134-141, July, 1927.

Defends bankers from accusation of greediness, saying they have acted often only at solicitation of the United States government. Emphasizes mutual United States and Hispanic-American lack of understanding. Sympathizes with government's efforts and thinks trouble largely due to passing of control of liberal party from Sacasa to military leaders.

44. Edge, Walter Evans: Beneficial Effects of the Nicaraguan Canal. In *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 138:67-68, July 7, 1928.

Very thin and largely pointless discussion appearing in longer paper "Practical relations with Latin America".

45. Haring, Clarence Henry: South America and our Policy in the Caribbean. In *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 132:146-152, July, 1927.

Valuable as pointing out effect of Nicaraguan policy on South American sentiment. The author is a member of Harvard university faculty who has conducted much special research upon Hispanic-American attitude toward the United States. See also his *South America Looks at the United States* (New York, 1928).

46. Keasbey, Lindley Miller: The Nicaragua Canal and the Monroe Doctrine. In *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 7:1-31, January, 1896.

Careful review to 1895, by which time Nicaragua had incorporated Mosquito shore. Traces American and British rivalry in the region.

47. Pasco, Samuel: The Isthmian canal Question as affected by Treaties and Concessions. In *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 19:24-45, January, 1902.

Contains early treaties covering proposals to build a canal through Nicaragua.

48. Shepherd, William Robert: The Reconciliation of Fact with Sentiment in our Dealings with Latin America. In *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 132:127-129, July, 1927.

Distinguished scholar of Hispanic-American history points out how the problem of the United States is complicated by the devotion both of the United States and of Hispanic America to certain political terms such as liberty, equality, etc. Suggests an inter-American commission of inquiry and conciliation as a fact-finding committee for both Americas.

49. Weitzel, George Thomas: The United States and Central America, the Policy of Clay and Knox. In *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 132:115-126; July, 1927.

Former minister to Nicaragua defends United States from charges of imperialism or dollar diplomacy, except so far as dollars were necessary to clear up tangled Nicaraguan finances.

50. Williams, Whiting: Geographical Determinism in Nicaragua. In *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 132:142-145, July, 1927.

Penetrating and informing article, in which the author holds that an east coast railway or canal alone can cure Nicaraguan revolutions.

### III. Editorial articles, controversial articles, and attempts at appraisal

51. After our Marines left Nicaragua. In *Literary Digest*, 87:21, December 12, 1925.

Selections from editorial opinions, mainly from papers of the United States, revealing both commendation and condemnation. Very useful.

(Similar articles in the *Literary Digest*, such as indicated below, are valuable for tracing American newspaper opinion at various stages. "American Imperialism in Nicaragua", map, 92:5-7, January 8, 1927; "Bloodshed in Nicaragua", 94:5-6, July 30, 1927; "Dark Possibilities in the Nicaraguan Snarl", illus., 92:5-7, January 22, 1927; "Free Hand for Coolidge in Nicaragua", 97:5-7, May 12, 1928; "Mexico's Hand in Nicaragua", 91:14, December 4, 1926; "Nicaragua Votes in Peace", 99:10, November 17, 1928; "Nicaraguan Canal", map, 93:12, April 30, 1927; "Nicaragua's bloody Peace", illus., 96:8, January 14, 1928; "Nicaragua's Rival Presidents", map, 92:13-4, January 1,

1927; "Our Canal Problems in British Eyes", 92:20, March 26, 1927; "Our Marines Return to Nicaragua", map, 90:13-14, September 18, 1926; "Our Warning to Nicaragua", 88:12, February 13, 1926; "Out of Nicaragua at last", 86:11, August 15, 1925; "Peremptory Peace in Nicaragua", 93:5-7, May 21, 1927; "Protectorate for Nicaragua", 92:14, March 26, 1927; "Uncle Sam's Hold on Nicaragua", 80:19-20, January 12, 1924; "Where we now stand in Nicaragua", 97:13, April 14, 1928.)

52. Beals, Carleton: Nicaraguan Farce. In *Nation*, 123:631-632, December 15, 1926.

Sketchy two page article, charging United States with inconsistency and with backing of bankers. Alleges a \$9,000,000.00 loan in 1920.

53. Carter, John: What kind of Intervention do they want? In *Independent*, 120:328-330, April 7, 1928.

Argumentative defense of intervention as necessary when a government is weak or corrupt; defends it as the least evil of the various policies which might be pursued.

54. Fernandez, Frederico Peck: Case of Nicaragua. In *Living Age*, 332:36-38, January 1, 1927.

Article quoted from "Renovación" of Tegucigalpa, October 30, 1926. Valuable as a means of seeing the affair through Central American eyes.

55. Jenks, Jeremiah Whipple: Authoritative Criticism, a Reply to "Uncle Sam in Central America". In *Outlook*, 146:232, June 15, 1927

Brief, informing article, pointing out alleged errors in editorial article in issue of May 18, 1927.

56. Martin, Percy F.: United States and Nicaragua. In *Fortnightly Review*, 127:476-480, April, 1927.

Author fellow of the Royal Geographical Society. Ridicules any national interest in Nicaragua by the United States, since canal unlikely, and naval base likewise, in view of opposition of other Central American states. Hence concludes that American activities are in furtherance of private or individual interests. Little evidence.

57. Nicaragua Goes United States. In *Independent*, 118:257, March 5, 1927.

Rather questioning and disapproving editorial comment, but restrained as compared with the *Nation*.

58. Nicaragua Occupied. In *New Republic*, 49:177-178, January 5, 1927.

Decided condemnation of bankers and "jingoists in state, war, and navy departments"



59. Order in Nicaragua vs. Self-Government. In *New Republic*, 50:314-315, May 11, 1927.

Criticizes United States for pursuing a single hand, and advises a policy shared in by other American nations.

60. Our Duties in Nicaragua. In *Independent*, 120:245, March 17, 1928.

Comes around from critic to supporter of complete and full carrying out of duties.

61. Our Responsibility in Nicaragua. In *Outlook*, 145:35, January 12, 1927.

Critical of our lack of a definite policy.

62. Phayre, Ignatius: Nicaragua or Panama? America's Problems of the interoceanic Canal. In *Fortnightly Review*, 130:213-222, August, 1928.

Discursive and popular article, in which the author tries to explain American action on the ground that Panama canal is not easily defended and further security is sought.

63. Rasor, W. W.: Nicaraguan Sovereignty and the Overthrow of Justice. In *Pan-American Magazine*, 39:196-201, January, 1927.

Almost incoherent article by the editor, attacking American policy as an affront to Nicaragua, and quoting two alleged American citizens who were abusive of American policy, apparently having suffered a reduction of claims before the Mixed Claims Commission.

64. ——— Outraged Sense of civil Justice in Nicaragua. Maps. In *Pan-American Magazine*, 39:135-139, September, 1926.

Jumbled article. Emotional. Shows closed mind.

65. ——— Square Deal, the United States and Nicaragua. In *Pan-American Magazine*, 35:157-159, September, 1922.

Specific charges of inconsistency and extravagance in American handling. Wholly unsympathetic in tone.

66. The Republic of Brown Bros. In *Nation*, 114:667, June 7, 1922.

A savage editorial attack, based upon the article by John Kenneth Turner (item no. 36, above). Typical in tone of numerous editorial articles in this magazine.

67. Ribas, Mario: A Central American Indictment of the United States. In *Current History*, 26:919-24, September, 1927.

The author, editor of *Renacimiento*, a Tegucigalpa newspaper, admits a feeling of bias, and proceeds to justify it with a list of inferences and dramatic pen pictures of a rather immaterial sort rather than with statements of facts, as far as Nicaragua is concerned.

68. Saenz, Vicente: The peaceful Penetration of Central America. In *Current History*, 26:913-919, September, 1927.

Caustic description of United States interference by Costa Rican editor, who speaks of the "patriots of Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, and Costa Rica hastening to take up arms on behalf of the country imposed upon by imperialism" at the time of the Mena revolution against Estrada.

69. Shipstead, Henrik: Dollar Diplomacy in Latin America. In *Current History*, 26:882-888, September, 1927.

Political and rhetorical, rather than factual, attack on our general policy in Hispanic America, by a member of the senate foreign relations committee.

70. Spence, Lewis: United States and Nicaragua. In *Nineteenth Century*, 103:333-343, March, 1928.

Discursive and critical appraisal, blaming United States difficulties on use of so clumsy a document as the Monroe doctrine. Somewhat sympathetic with Nicaragua, yet recognizing that American interference has been for Nicaraguans' good.

71. Storey, Moorfield: Nicaragua and the Policy our Government has Pursued. In *Century*, 115:446-453, February, 1928.

A savage attack on the presidential policy, which is declared unsupported by either the constitution or international law. A legalist's attitude.

72. The United States and the Nicaraguan Elections; Rejoinder to J. W. Jenks. In *Outlook*, 146:206-208, June 15, 1927.

Editorial making clear *Outlook* attitude. Judicious.

73. Wells, Linton: Our coming Intervention in Nicaragua. In *New Republic*, 50:322-324, May 11, 1927.

Charges the United States government with prolonging the trouble by being afraid to intervene, and by a policy of merely interfering.

74. Wicker, Cyrus French: Canal is the Answer; international Significance of the Nicaraguan Tangle. In *Century* 117:12-19, November, 1928.

Asserts United States bound to action by necessity of defense of canal communications. Thinks results in Nicaragua perhaps good, but concludes they are wholly in support of the conservatives.

(For further criticism of the American policy see especially the following editorials and articles from the *Nation*: "Big Brother or big Bully", 123:25, July 14, 1926; "Can we Get out of Nicaragua"? 126:201-202, February 22, 1928; "Chains F. O. B.", 126:684, June 20, 1928; "It seems to Heywood Broun", 126:62, January 18, 1928; "Nicaragua's Constitution", 126:222-224, February 22, 1928; "Our Marines in Nicaragua", 121:243-244, August 26, 1925; "Stampeded", 126:529, May 9, 1928; "War in Nicaragua", 126:311, March 21, 1928; "War or Peace", 124:55, January 19, 1927; "What they Die for", 126:85-86, January 25, 1928; "When is a War not a War"? 126:58, January 18, 1928; "Who Makes our Wars"? 126:113-114, February

1, 1928; Beals, Carleton, "This is War, Gentlemen"! 126:404-406, April 11, 1928; Dunn, R. W., "The Nicaraguan Farce", 126:188-189, February 15, 1928; Gannett, L. S., "Dollars and Bullets, a History Compiled mainly from State Department Records", 124:89-91, January 26, 1927; Hard, William, "Mr. Coolidge, here's a Court"! 124:58, January 19, 1927; Levy, N., "On to Nicaragua", 126:123-124, February 1, 1928.)

#### IV. Newspapers

##### 75. *New York Times* and *Chicago Daily News*.

Possessed of unusually good foreign services, and both more or less independent in tone, though the *Times* usually veers to the democratic side.

##### 76. *United States Daily*, Washington, D. C.

An absolutely non-partisan sheet, carrying only news released or given out from government departments, with no editorial comment.

(For foreign, especially Hispanic-American comment, consult the following: *Diario del Comercio*, San José; *El Comercio*, Managua; *El Imparcial*, Guatemala; *El Renacimiento*, Tegucigalpa; *El Universal*, Mexico; *Excelsior*, Mexico; *La Información*, Bluefields; *La Nación*, Buenos Aires; *La Nación*, Santiago; *La Noticia*, León; *La Prensa*, Managua; *La Tribuna*, San José; *La Voz del Atlántico*, Bluefields; *The Spectator*, London.

#### D. BOOKS AND MONOGRAPHS

##### I. Detailed special treatments

##### 77. Cox, Isaac Joslin: *Nicaragua and the United States 1909-1927*. Documents. Boston, 1927.

Carefully documented account by trained historian, covering affairs until early 1927. Draws liberally from Hispanic-American sources, especially newspapers. Impartial in tone. Contains in 78 page appendix much of the essential public correspondence between the governments and officials, together with other pertinent materials.

##### 78. Cramer, Floyd: *Our Neighbor Nicaragua*. Illus. Map. New York, 1929.

A good brief account, with six of the ten chapters devoted to the physical and historical background. Final chapter, dealing with Sandino, to be used with care, evidencing bias against him in general tone.

##### 79. Denny, Harold Norman: *Dollars for Bullets, the Story of American Rule in Nicaragua*. Map. Illus. New York, 1929.

Latest and best account. Result of six months spent in Nicaragua in winter and spring of 1927-1928, and subsequent study in Washington and New York, covering state department documents and bankers' records. Declares aim to state

facts objectively with minimum of interpretation. Believes Nicaraguans for most part satisfied. Contains well selected list of public documents, books, and periodicals in English, together with notes, at close.

80. Nogales y Mendez, Rafael de: *The Looting of Nicaragua*. Illus. New York, 1928.

Journalistic account by reporter-adventurer-soldier of fortune with a flare for sensationalism. The author is a Venezuelan who served as inspector general of Turkish cavalry during World War. Admirer of Sandino. A loosely-written, undocumented diatribe against dollar diplomacy. Author was apparently in the country less than four months. A four-page list of books, letters, addresses and newspaper articles, evidently selected to substantiate the author's viewpoints.

81. Stimson, Henry Lewis: *American Policy in Nicaragua*. New York, 1927.

A strong defense of American policy by one thoroughly familiar with the official viewpoint, and himself a chief factor in bringing about the settlement of 1927.

- Zelaya, José Santos: *La Revolución de Nicaragua y los Estados Unidos*. Madrid, 1910.

Account by the president forced out by the United States action at beginning of intervention in 1909-1910.

## II. *Brief general treatments and special phases*

### a. General Treatments in Texts and longer Histories

82. James, Herman Gerlach; and Percy A. Martin: *The Republics of Latin America, their History, Governments and economic Conditions*. New York, 1923.

Valuable for brief description of the government and constitution of Nicaragua.

83. Johnson, Willis Fletcher: *America's foreign Relations*. Two vols. Portraits. New York, 1916.

Dependable but brief account of the making of the Bryan-Chamorro treaty.

84. Munro, Dana Gardner: *The five Republics of Central America, their political and economic Development and their Relations with the United States*. Map. New York, 1918.

Especially valuable not only for American interests and activities until 1917, but also for chapters upon causes of Central American revolutions, and the history of the proposed union of Central American republics. Contains also an evaluation of our general Central American policy. Rather critical in tone.

85. Ogg, Frederic Austin: *National Progress, 1907-1927*. Volume 27 of "The American Nation Series" edited by Albert Bushnell Hart. New York, 1918.

Summary statement regarding our early intervention and loans.



86. Robertson, William Spence: *History of the Latin American Nations*. Revised edition. New York, 1925.

Contains a very brief resumé in chapter XVII; by one familiar with Hispanic-American viewpoints.

b. Works describing the Country, earlier History, and other  
Phases of the Background of Intervention

87. Doubleday, Charles William: *Reminiscences of the filibuster War in Nicaragua*. Map. New York, 1886. Pp. 225.

A defensive account by a personal friend of Walker.

88. International Bureau of American Republics: *Nicaragua, general Descriptive Data* prepared in June, 1909. Washington, 1909.

Brief descriptive pamphlet.

89. Niederlein, Gustavo: *The State of Nicaragua of the Greater Republic of Central America*. Philadelphia, 1898.

Result of seven and one-half months of investigation by the chief of the scientific department of the Philadelphia museum. Facts gathered carefully. Valuable for topography and climate.

90. Palmer, Frederick: *Central America and its Problems*. New York, 1913.

Contains brief journalistic account of conditions in Nicaragua in the later days of Zelaya's rule in chapters XV-XVII. Unfavorable to the dictator.

91. Scroggs, William Oscar: *Filibusters and Financiers, the Story of William Walker and his Associates*. Illus. Maps. New York, 1916.

Documented account by a former university professor, who believes previous accounts have failed to realize full significance and importance.

92. Walker, William: *The War in Nicaragua*. Illus. Map. Mobile, 1860.

General's own account written "almost entirely from memory, with few papers or documents to refresh my recollection of events now some time past". Extended, detailed, direct soldierly narrative.

(See also Stout, Peter F., *Nicaragua, Past, Present and Future*, Philadelphia, 1859; and Wells, William Vincent, *Walker's Expedition to Nicaragua, a History of the Central American War*, New York, 1856.)

c. Special Phases of Intervention

93. Blakeslee, George Hubbard: *The recent foreign Policy of the United States, Problems in American Coöperation with other Powers*. New York, 1925.

A brief section, pages 99-120, on our Caribbean policy. Good general statement, with incidental reference to Nicaragua.

94. Cárdenas y Echarte, Raúl de: *La Política de los Estados Unidos en el Continente Americano*. Habana, 1921.

Contains sections on the Monroe Doctrine and preponderance in the Caribbean; the latter has a division devoted to the question of Nicaragua.

95. Garner, James Wilford: *American foreign Policies, Examination and Evaluation of certain traditional and recent international Policies of the United States*. New York, 1928.

Rather critical brief summary in chapter on imperialism and dollar diplomacy. Discusses effect upon Hispanic-American and European nations.

96. Hyde, Charles Cheyney: Charles Evans Hughes in vol. X in series of "The American Secretaries of State and their Diplomacy," edited by Samuel Flagg Bemis. New York, 1927-1929.

States and discusses disclaimers of Hughes of ulterior motives in American policy.

97. Inman, Samuel Guy: *Problems in Pan-Americanism*. New York, 1921.

Unsympathetic account of earlier portion of relations by Columbia University instructor, who quotes freely from visitors and papers at time of his visit to Nicaragua in 1920.

98. Jones, Chester Lloyd: *Caribbean Interests of the United States*. New York, 1916.

A several page discussion, in general sympathetic with American action.

99. Latane, John Holladay: *The United States and Latin America*. New York, 1920.

Brief account, discussing earlier period of the trouble, and noting apparent approval of better classes in Nicaragua with resulting conditions.

100. Miller, Hugh Gordon: *The isthmian Highway, a Review of the Problems of the Caribbean*. New York, 1929.

Nicaragua dealt with in chapter XVI. Gives agreement of Bernard and Moncada regarding supervision of election of 1932.

101. Moon, Parker Thomas: *Imperialism and world Politics*. New York, 1926.

Rather cynical account, pages 428-431, attributing our presence to financial interests.

102. Moreno, Landelino: *Historia de las Relaciones interestatales de Centroamerica*. Map. Madrid. 1928 (?).

Deals, in some 28 pages, with the Monroe Doctrine and the North American intervention in Nicaragua. Also deals with establishment of the Central American court of justice and its judgments in the Nicaraguan Canal treaty case.

103. Nearing, Scott; and Joseph Freeman: *Dollar Diplomacy*. New York, 1926.

Most unfavorable account by socialistically inclined former university professor. Interprets bankers' loans and United States relation thereto in most unfavorable light.

104. *The new Pan-Americanism*. Boston.

Contains discussion of the Central American league of nations and the inauguration of the Central American court of justice. The treaty and conventions establishing the court are contained in appendices. Also contains a 12-page discussion of the canal route controversy before the court.

105. Rippey, James Fred: *Latin America in World Politics*. New York, 1928.

Contains a brief summary in final chapter on current problems in inter-American relations.

106. Robertson, William Spence: *Hispanic-American Relations with the United States*. Ed. by David Kinley. New York, 1923.

Though written in 1922 carries only incidental references.

107. Stevens, Guy: *Our Mexican-Nicaraguan Policy in Current Controversies with Mexico*, pp. 129-141.

An address at dinner of the Foreign Policy Association, new Nicollet hotel, Minneapolis, Minnesota, Feb. 26, 1927. No place or date of publication or copyright notice.

108. Stuart, Graham Henry: *Latin America and the United States*. New York, 1922.

Covers well interests of United States and earlier phases in chapters XII and XIII. Brief and well documented account drawn from United States sources.

109. *Survey of American foreign Relations*. Prepared under the direction of Charles Prentice Howland. Maps. Graphs. New Haven, 1929.

The work of a research associate in government at Yale university for the council on foreign relations. Chap. IV is a valuable chapter on Nicaragua and chap. XI on our Caribbean policy and activities.

110. Thomas, David Yancey: *One hundred Years of the Monroe Doctrine, 1823-1923*. New York, 1923.

A brief description, somewhat reserved or critical in tone, in chap. XIII. In chap. XVII presents recent Hispanic-American views.

111. Ugarte, Manuel: *The destiny of a Continent*. Edited, with an introduction and bibliography, by J. Fred Rippey. New York, 1925.

Interesting as an indictment from Hispanic America. An Argentinian's strong criticism of the loans made in 1909, by Nicaraguan officials with the American bankers is found in chap. IV.

112. Williams, Benjamin Harrison: *The economic foreign Policy of the United States*. New York, 1929.

The author, an associate professor of political science at the university of Pittsburgh, is critical of the policy of the United States, holding that it has made more liberal use of neutral zones in Nicaragua than elsewhere, manipulating things in the interest of the conservatives.

113. Young, John Parke: *Central American Currency and Finance*. Map. Princeton, 1925.

Prepared by former Princeton university instructor who has served as expert for the United States senate. Especially good for bankers' relations with the Nicaraguan government. Thinks bankers erred in tact and lacked understanding, but have done good which is not fully appreciated by Nicaraguans because the money received has been applied to debt payments.

(Also of apparent value in this division are James Scott Brown's *The sixth international Conference of American States held at Havana, January 6 to February 20, 1928, a Survey*, Worcester, Mass., 1928; Charles Emmanuel Martin's *The Policy of the United States as Regards Intervention*, in "Columbia University Studies in Social and Political Science", XCIII; and Taylor, Cole, *The recognition Policy of the United States since 1901*, Baton Rouge, 1928.)

VAN LIEU MINOR.

Central State Teachers College,  
Mt. Pleasant, Michigan.

## NOTES

Professor David Peña, for many years professor of Argentine history in the Faculty of Philosophy and Letters of the University of Buenos Aires, died on April 9, 1930. Under the modest title of "Contribución a la Bibliografía de David Peña", Sr. Ricardo R. Caillet-Bois, secretary of the Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas of Buenos Aires, has prepared a bibliography of practically everything which Peña wrote. It consists of 298 titles and is published in *Boletín* No. 46 of the Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas (October-December, 1930). This bibliography should prove very useful to all students of Argentine history of the nineteenth century.—P. A. M.

Professor F. A. Kirkpatrick of Cambridge University, the author it will be remembered of the articles on Hispanic American History in *The Cambridge Modern History*, is engaged in the preparation of a history of Argentina.—P. A. M.



The well known Brazilian diplomat, S. Rangel de Castro, has collected the lectures which he gave during the years 1921-1926 under the auspices of various universities and learned societies in Belgium, Italy, Spain, France, England, and Japan, and has published them under the title of *Quelques Aspects de la Civilisation Brésilienne* (Paris, 1930). The titles of the lectures are: "Le Brésil contemporain", "Le Brésil pittoresque", "Quelques Aspects de la Civilisation Brésilienne", "Les Explorations de Général Randon dans le Far-west du Brésil", "Le Progrès au Brésil et le Collaboration des Italiens", "Le Brésil intellectuel: Littérature et Art", "Quelques Aspects politiques et économiques du Brésil", "Les grands Maîtres de la Peinture Brésilienne". Extensive footnotes have brought the statistical material up to date. An appreciative preface is supplied by M. Gabriel Hanotaux.—P. A. M.

There is a copy of the rare *Relaçam verdadeira dos Trabalhos* (Evora, 1557) in the library of Captain Grant of Bristol, England. Only two other copies are known, namely, those of the Lenox collection of the New York Public Library and of the British Museum. This volume narrates the adventures of the expedition made by Fernando de Soto to Florida.

The Bibliographisches Institut of Leipzig has published (1930) an interesting volume by Hermann Lufft entitled *Lateinamerika* in the series "Provinzen der Weltwirtschaft und Weltpolitik". This volume with its seventeen maps and its over two hundred illustrations and graphs is probably the best German compendium of Hispanic America. In his introduction, the author presents a general description of Hispanic America and gives a survey of its vegetable and animal resources and its situation with regard to world trade. Hispanic America's share in world production, its economic structure, its trade system, and its import and export trade are all dealt with in an exhaustive manner for the various countries and in a way which leaves little to be desired. It is to be regretted that the author did not see fit to include Cuba in his survey; for that island with its important sugar resources should figure in any compendium on Hispanic America. With this reservation, the book can be recommended to all persons interested in the economic condition of Hispanic America. The volume is enriched by means of numerous tables and graphs.—HANS W. HARTMANN.

Selections from the work of Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxochitl have appeared in German translation in a volume entitled *Das Buch der Königs von Tezcuco*, which has been recently (1930) published by the Verlag F. A. Brockhaus at Leipzig. The introduction, definitions, and explanations of the editor enhance the value of the book. Various illustrations from old Mexican works are reproduced.—HANS W. HARTMANN.

One of the last works of that indefatigable bibliographer, José Toribio Medina is his *Bibliografía de la Lengua Guaraní* (Buenos Aires, 1930), which is No. LI. of the Publications of the Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas. This lists 144 titles in 93 pages.

José Rafael Wendehake, M.D., of the University of Caracas, publishes a brochure in English entitled *The Master of Bolívar* (1930). This was published by the Haskins News Service, Colón, Panama, and contains 51 pages. The subject matter refers, of course, to Simón Rodríguez, the tutor and teacher of Bolívar. The rector of the University of Caracas, Diego Carbonel, wrote a short preface to the work, in which he states that he suggested the publication of the work. Ernesto A. Morales, of Panama, wrote a foreword to the volume. The monograph, which is a revision of a former treatise by its author, deals especially with the pathological and psychiatric elements as manifested in Simón Rodríguez. Letters from Sucre and Bolívar are reproduced.

At the recent historical congress held in Seville, Miss Irene A. Wright presented two brief communications. One was for the Historisch Genootschaft (Utrecht), setting forth the interest in Spanish archival material felt by that society as evidenced in its recent publications. Miss Wright has also written a short study on "The Dutch Expedition against San Martín, March, 1644", which is based upon nine heretofore unpublished documents in the Archives of the Indies. This material will form a chapter in Miss Wright's forthcoming book on "Dutch Seamen in the Caribbean, 1621-1648", in the writing of which she has been aided by a grant-in-aid from the Social Science Research Council. The other communication mentioned above related to English interest in Spanish materials, especially those existing in the Archives of the Indies. The Hakluyt Society will soon publish a sec-

ond volume of documents edited by Miss Wright, which will be a companion volume to her *English Expeditions to the Caribbean, 1527-1568*. The new volume will carry on the story of the English expeditions to 1604.

Mrs. Walter Schoellkopf is writing a book on that outstanding Spanish colonial figure, Conde Bernardo de Gálvez. The need of such a volume has long been apparent to students of late colonial Mexico, Louisiana, and Florida. Mrs. Schoellkopf has been investigating Spanish and English sources for a number of years and her book promises to fill a void. Those who have worked in the Spanish archives or with materials copied therefrom can visualize the amount of work Mrs. Schoellkopf has had to do.

The address delivered by Dr. José Santiago Rodríguez at the unveiling of the statue of Henry Clay in Caracas in December, 1930, has been published in a pamphlet, both in Spanish and English (Caracas, Lit. y Tip. del Comercio, 1930). It is entitled *Discurso de Orden pronunciado por el Dr. José Santiago Rodríguez con Motivo de la Inauguración de la Estatua de Henry Clay en Caracas el 9 de Diciembre de 1930*.

In her book, *Central America and the Spanish Main* (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1929, pp. xv, 222, \$3.00), Agnes Rothery has given an interesting account of a voyage starting at San Francisco and ending at New York. In real life, Agnes Rothery is Mrs. Agnes Edwards Rothery Pratt. She has occupied important editorial positions on various periodicals, has been a lecturer on literary subjects, and has to her credit over a half dozen books. Her husband, Professor Harry Rogers Pratt, is connected with the University of Virginia. The present volume gives interesting details of a voyage along the Pacific coast of the United States and along the Mexican coast, down into Guatemala City, Antigua, Salvador, Nicaragua, Panama and the canal, Cartagena, Puerto Colombia, and Barranquilla, and then "home by the Spanish main". There are excellent pen pictures of the old missions and missionaries of California and of the life of the early settlers. The author has read her history of these lands to good advantage and in her trip along the western coast and into Central America she has been a good observer.

Mrs. Pratt has essentially the student mind and has been willing to study her problems before writing about them. The chapter touching on old Cartagena is especially interesting. There are a few misprints which should be corrected in a second edition of the book. It is a pity that the author did not have the benefit of having read a book like Priestley's *Coming of the White Man*, which unfortunately did not appear soon enough, for it would have corrected her impression (p. 162) that all intellectual life in the colonies was stifled. Her speculations as to future reports or conceptions regarding Puerto Colombia when the improvements under way at Barranquilla shall have been completed are beside the point, and may probably be taken as an expression of humor, for the printing press has done its work too thoroughly for any misconceptions as to the former importance of Puerto Colombia. The volume is concluded with a four-page bibliographical list, "such as the prospective traveler to these countries will find easy of access, readable and formative." The list is incomplete but contains a number of authoritative titles of books both by living and dead authors.

Dorothy Giles in *The Road through Spain* (Philadelphia, The Penn Publishing Company, 1929) writes of the experience of two women and a Ford in Spain. The volume is interesting and contains excellent descriptions of the people and the country, districts, and cities. The book is marred in places by poor proofreading and by the writer's incomplete knowledge of Spanish. Many historical matters are touched on lightly.

Among recent books on Spain and Hispanic America are the following:

- Brenner, Anita: *Idols behind Altars*. New York, Payson & Clark, 1929.  
Gosse, Philip: *Hawkins, Scourge of Spain* (New York, Harper & Bros., 1930.)  
Hammond, George Peter, and Agapito Rey: *Expedition into New Mexico made by Antonio de Espejo*. Los Angeles, The Quivira Society, 1929.  
Jones, Clarence F.: *South America*. New York, Holt & Co., 1930.  
Smith, Susan: *Made in Mexico*. New York, A. Knopf.

A reprint of an article by Rev. Paul J. Foik, C.S.C., Ph.D., chairman of the Knights of Columbus Historical Commission, namely, *Fray Juan de Padilla, Proto-Martyr of the United States and Texas* (11 pp.) appeared first in *Mid-America*, XIII. (No. 2, October, 1930).



The Division of Intellectual Coöperation of the Pan American Union has issued a mimeographed compilation (October, 1930) entitled: "Colleges and Universities in the United States having courses for the study of Latin America". This compilation of 14 pages is taken from catalogues of 1930 and 1931.

The *Boletín de Investigaciones Históricas* (Buenos Aires), in its No. 43-44 (January-June, 1930) contains among its original articles: "Infancia y Juventud de Velez Sarsfield", by Abel Chagnetón; "Lista de Libros embarcados para Buenos Aires en los Siglos XVII y XVIII", by José Torre Revello; "La Medalla Humboldt-Bonpland, conmemorativa del 14º Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, Stuttgart, 1904", by R. Lehmann Nitsche; "El Testamento de Domingo Martínez de Irala", by Enrique de Gandía; "Un Proyecto de 1812 sobre Organización de la Academia de Artes en América", by José Torre Revello. In the section of "Documental Relations" are: "Fray Bernadino de Cárdenas, Obispo del Paraguay", by Rubén Vargas Ugarte, S. J.; "El Plano original de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires levantado por el Ingeniero . . .", by José Torre Revello; "Mendoza en los Comienzos del Siglo de XIX", by Ricardo R. Caillet-Bois; "La Crónica de la primerá Proclamación real, celebrada en Buenos Aires en 1600", by José Torre Revello; "Los Descubridores del Mineral de la Carolina", by Fray Reginaldo de la Cruz Saldaña Retamar; "Indes Occidentales. Quelle a este la Maniere dont les Espagnols ont gouverné". In the "General or special Inventories" section appeared "Archivo General de la Nación, República Argentina (continued)". In No. 45 (July-September, 1930), the original articles were: "La Traslación de Saladas en 1749: Contribución del posado colonial de Corrientes", by Raúl de Labougle; "Somero Estudio sobre los Proyectos del nuevo Código de las Leyes de Indias", by Antonio Muro Orejón; "Fray Francisco de Vitoria y el Derecho a la Conquista de América", by Rubén Vargas Ugarte, S. J.; "Ensayo sobre las Artes en la Argentina durante la Época colonial", by José Torre Revello. In the section of "Documental Relations" are "Un Informe reservado del Virrey Joaquín del Pino", by Ricardo R. Caillet-Bois; "La Imprenta de los Niños Expositos en 1820 y 1821", by Juan Canter. The "Archivo General de la Nación, República de Argentina" is continued in the section of "General or special Inventories". Each number contains the usual sections of Bibliographical

Notes, General Information, Gallery of Historians, and a List of published Documents. In the section of "General Information" the "Contribución a la Bibliografía de Paul Groussac", by Juan Canter, is continued. In the section of "Galeria de Historiadores", appear portraits of Diego Barros Arana, and Félix de Azara.

*Humanidades* edited by the faculty of the national university of La Plata, contains in its volume XXI. (1930, Letras), items as follows: "Realismo de la Epopeya española", by R. Menéndez Pidal; "Para la Linguística de nuestro Diminitivo", by Amado Alonso; "Walpoliana. Al Moyén de algunas Cartas de Horacio Walpole", by Rafael Alberto Arrieta; "Pindaro en la Literatura castellana", by Arturo Marasso; "El Lenguaje", by Pedro Henriquez Ureñal; "Del Realismo es imitación de la Realidad tal como es", by Carmelo M. Bonet; "Alberdi y la Poesía social", by Arturo Vázquez Cey; "¿Que representa Tersiles en la Iliada?", by José R. Destefano; "Rosalia Castro de Murguía", by Augusto Cortina; "Algunos Aspectos de la Poesía popular de Catamarca, Salta y Jujuy", by Juan Alfonso Carrizo; "Mérimee y el Duque de Rivers", by Elisa Esther Bordato; "Asis. La Iglesia natural del Misticismo", by Emilio D. Metleis. The volume contains the usual bibliographical section and news of the faculty.

In March, 1930, the third number of a new review appeared in San Salvador, namely, *Revista del Departamento de Historia*, which is published by the Ministerio de Instrucción Pública under the directorship of Antonio E. Sol. The third number contains: "Informe del Departamento de Historia a la Sub Secretaria de Instrucción Pública sobre las Labores de 1929", by Antonio E. Sol; "Las Artes antiguas de América", by Professor José Siegfried Askinasy; "Testimonio de los Tributos en Parte de Ejidos del Pueblo de San Gerónimo, Nejapa. 1806"; "Contribución para el Estudio de los Fenómenos volcanicos de El Salvador", by Dr. León Sol; "Carta de Libertad de una Esclava negra echada en Mexico el 14 de Septiembre de 1558", translated from the English by Señorita María Flores Klebergg (this letter was taken from THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW for February, 1930); "Juicios que nos honran"; "Divulgación histórica. Documentos relativos a la Federación de Centro América publicados por primera Vez"; "Informe del Director

del Departamento de Historia sobre la Piedra pintada, al Ministro de Instrucción Pública"; "Apreciaciones sobre el Arte Maya", by Ernesto de Sola; "Efemerides Salvadoreñas", by Miguel A. García.

The *Boletín de la Biblioteca Nacional* (Caracas) for June 30, 1930 (No. 28), contains: "Nuestro Grabado"; "Informe del Director de la Biblioteca Nacional"; "Vocabulario indígena", by Arístides Rojas; "Meseniana", by Juan Vicente Gonzáles; "Para la Historia de la Biblioteca Nacional"; "Por la Cultura Nacional"; "El Retrato de Sucre", by C. R. Tovar; "El gran Mariscal de Ayacucho", by E. Díez de Medina; "Reliquias de Sucre", by C. de Gangotena y Jijón; "Pensamientos sobre el gran Mariscal de Ayacucho"; "Ultima Carta de Sucre". In No. 29 (September 30, 1930) appear: "Monarquías en América"; "Constitución de los Mosquitos", by Macgregor; "Los Soles de Bolívar", by Roque Garrigo; "La Plaza y el Monumento a Don Andrés Bello", by José E. Machado; "Vocabulario indígena", by Arístides Rojas; "Del Tiempo viejo", by Patricio Moreno; "Gaceta de los Libros", by Rafael Heliodoro Valle; "Bibliografía de Rodó", by Arturo Scarone.

*Archivo del Folklore Cubana* (Havana), in its issue for April-June, 1930 (V. No. 2), has the following: "Los Chinos en Nueva York", by José Martí; "El Santuario del Cobre", by Ezequiel García Enseñat; "Los 'Gritos' de la segunda Olimpiada Centro-Americana", by Pablo de la Torriente-Brau; "La Ceiba de Ta-Benino", by Juan B. García; "Los Diversiones a Finis del Siglo XVIII", by Buena-ventura Pascual Ferrer; "La Guaracha 'El Sungarubelo'", by Dolores María de Ximeno; "Los Orígenes del Son 'Mama Inés'", by J. M. García Garófalo; "El Estudio del Folklore y su Contenido", by Esperanza Valdés Rodríguez; "El Folklore cubano", by José María Chacón y Calvo; "Juegos infantiles cubanos". In the issue for July-September (No. 3) are: "El Tema de Roncevalles y Bernardo del Carpio en la poesía popular de Cuba", by Aurelio M. Espinosa; "Las Supersticiones del Escala cubano", by Manuela Fonseca García; "Motivos de Son", by Nicolás Guillén; "Las Fiestas de San Juan de Puerto Principé", by Camagüez; "El 'Entierro del Gorrión' en Cárdenas", by Herminio Portell Vilá; "El Ratoncito Pérez o la Cucarachita Martina", by Anastasio F. Morera; "La Copla política cubana"; "Ganchos turísticos", by Gabriel Camps. Each number has valuable bibliographical data.



In various issues of *Cultura Venezolana* (Caracas) are the following: May, 1930 (No. 103)—“Aspecto físico y Orígenes étnicos de Venezuela”, by Alfredo Jahn; “Canning y la Independencia de la América Latina”, by Charles Petrie; “La Crisis del Derecho actual”, by M. Segundo Nuñez Valdivia; “En el Instituto tropical de Hamburgo”, by Juan Iturbe; “Sobre el Poeta uruguayo Pedro Leandro”, by Humberto Cuenca; “El Marfil negro y el Oro blanco en Cuba”; “Un Obispo favorable a la Evolución”. June-July, 1930 (No. 104)—“A cien Años de Sucre”, by M. P. S.; “Resumen sucinto de la Vida del General Sucre”, by Simón Bolívar; “Conmemoración del Centenario de la Muerte de Sucre en Caracas”, by L. Vallemilla Lanz; “El Ejemplo de Sucre”, by Luis Correa; “Canto al Mariscal de Ayacucho”, by Manuel Pereira Machado; “Rasgos del Padre Sucre, Sobrino del gran Mariscal”, by Tulio Febres Cordero; “De Bogotá a San Pedro Alejandrino, 1830”, by Davis Salgado Gómez; “Bolívar en Inglaterra, 1810”, and “Bolívar en Milan”, by Eduardo Posada; “(Estanapa de una Ciudad colonial”, by José María Salaverría; “Un Precursor”, by Jesús Sanabria Bruzual; “Los Injertos extranjeros en el Tronco de nuestra Raza”, by Enrique de Gandia; “La Esperada—El Hijo verde—Dominio”, by Humberto Cuenca; “Valioso Juicio extranjero sobre una Obra nacional”, by Alejandro Andrade Coello; “La Región venezolana del Cerra Druida”, by G. H. H. Tate y C. B. Hitchcock; “Folk-lore venezolano”, by Jesús Morcano Villanueva. August, 1930 (No. 105)—“España y los Libertadores”, by Laureano Vallenilla Lanz; “Rafael Villavicencio y su Época”, by Diego Carbonell; “Algunos aspectos de la Literatura colombiana”, by Antonio Gómez Restrepo; “El Ocaso de Bolívar”, by C. Rangel Báez; “El Hombre de Neanderthal (Mustierense)”, by O. C. Farrington and H. Field; “Sentido americano del Desparate”, by Mariano Picón Salas; “Un Camino de Formeza”, by E. Arroyo Lameda; “Notas acerca del Cultivo del Café”, by H. Pittier; “La Región venezolana del Cerra Druida”, by G. H. Tate and C. B. Hitchcock; “Bolívar y la Educación de Hispanoamericana”, by Uladislao Zegarra y Araujo; “Los Filibusteros del Lago”.

*The Grace Log: A Review of Inter-American Affairs* (September-October, 1930), Vol. XIII., No. 5, has the following: “North American Civilization”, taken from the address of Carlos G. Dávila, Chilean ambassador at Washington, delivered in Santiago de Chile, July 6, 1930;



"Chile y los Estados Unidos"; "Ecuador", by Devitt Welsh; "Chile Nitrate Centennial"; "Railroads of Guatemala and Salvador linked"; "Historic South American Ports—Valparaiso"; "Broadcasting for South American Audiences", by W. T. Meenam; "Un verdadero Peligro Panamericano".

The last number of the *Revista del Instituto Histórico y Geográfico del Uruguay* (Tomo VI. No. 2, 1929) contains a remarkable article by the president of the instituto, Dr. Pablo Blanco Acevedo, entitled "Inglaterra en la Convención de Paz de 1828". It consists of a detailed study of the convention of 1828, which signed by the representatives of the empire of Brazil and the republic of the United Provinces of the Río de la Plata, recognized the independence of Uruguay. This convention, shortly afterwards ratified by the governments of Río de Janeiro and Buenos Aires, was negotiated largely through the efforts of the British envoy Lord Ponsonby. The article is based on a careful study of the documents in the British Record Office, including of course the reports of Ponsonby. It sheds a flood of new light on one of the most important series of negotiations in the history of South America.—P. A. M.

The *American Political Science Review* for August, 1930, has an article by O. Douglass Weeks, entitled "The Texas-Mexican and the Politics of South Texas."

John Carl Parish is the author of "The Intrigues of Dr. James O'Fallon", which appeared in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for September, 1930 (XVII., No. 2).

The well known archæologist, Mrs. Zelia Nuttall published through the *Journal of Heredity* for May, 1930 (Vol. XXI. No. 5) an interesting article on "Documentary Evidence concerning wild Maize in Mexico—A Contribution toward the Solution of the Problem of the Origin of cultivated Maize". Mrs. Nuttall has written much of Mexican archæology and now has ready for publication a book entitled "The Gardens of Moctezuma and the Spanish Viceroy of Mexico".

An interesting note on the recent revolution in Brazil is found in the *Neue Züricher Zeitung* for October 17, 1930. This was apparently written by Dr. Hans W. Hartmann.

A recent report is to the effect that Professor A. Curtis Wilgus's text book, *A History of Hispanic America*, will be ready for use in summer schools this year. Copies may be obtained from Mime-O-Form Service, 1000 Southern Building, Washington, D. C.

